AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church-Power, are considered in their Connexion with the State of Learning and Philosophy, and the Political History of Europe during that Period;

BY THE LATE LEARNED

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AND ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES, CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND AN APPENDIX,

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

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CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY CHARLES COOTE, LL.D.

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THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CENT. XVII.

The college de propaganda fide, founded at Rome.

I. THE arduous attempts of the pontiffs, in the preceding century, to advance the glory and majesty of the see of Rome, by extending the limits of the Christian church, and spreading the Gospel among distant nations, met with great opposition; and, as they were neither well conducted nor properly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. But in this century the same attempts were renewed with vigor, and crowned with such success, as contributed not a little to give a new degree of stability to the tottering grandeur of the papacy. They were begun by Gregory XV., who, by the advice of his confessor Narni, founded at Rome, in 1622, the famous Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary [a], is designed to propagate and maintain the religion of Rome in all parts of the world. Its riches and possessions were so prodigiously augmented by the muni-

[a] Such is the number appropriated to this Congregation by Gregory's original *Bull*. See Bullarium Roman. tom. iii.—Cerri mentions the same number, in his Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine. But a different account is given by Aymon, in his Tableau de la Cour de Rome, part iii. chap. iii. p. 279, for he makes this Congregation to consist of eighteen cardinals, one of the pope's secretaries, one apostolical proto-notary, one referendary, and one of the assessors or secretaries of the inquisition.

ficence of Urban VIII. and the liberality of an incredible number of donors, that its funds are, at this day, adequate to the most sumptuous undertakings[b]. And, indeed, the enterprises of this congregation are great and extensive: by it a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world; books of various kinds published, to facilitate the study of foreign and barbarous languages; the sacred writings, and other pious productions, sent abroad to the most distant corners of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters; seminaries founded for the sustenance and education of a great number of young men, set apart for the foreign missions; houses erected for the instruction and support of the pagan youths who are yearly sent from abroad to Rome, that they may return thence into their respective countries, and become the instructors of their blinded brethren: not to mention the charitable establishments that are intended for the relief and support of those who have suffered banishment, or been involved in other calamities, on account of their stedfast attachment to the religion of Rome, and their zeal for promoting the glory of its pontiff. Such are the arduous and complicated schemes, with the execution of which this congregation is charged; but these, though the principal, are not the only objects of its attention; its views, in a word, are vast, and its exploits almost incredible. Its members hold their assemblies in a spacious and magnificent palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur[c].

[b] This assertion was not strictly true at the time when it was hazarded; and to our own time it is very inapplicable. *Edit.*

[c] The authors who have given an account of this Congregation, are mentioned by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exoriens, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. Add, to these, Dorotheus Ascanius, de Montibus Pietatis Ecclesiæ Roman. p. 522, where may be seen a complete list of the books that have been published by this congregation, from its first institution to the year 1667.

II. To this famous establishment, another, less splendid, indeed, but highly useful, was added, in 1627, by Urban VIII. under the denomination of a College or Seminary for the Propagation of the Faith. This seminary is appropriated to the education of those who are designed for the foreign missions; and they are here instructed, with the greatest care, in the knowlege of all the languages and sciences that are necessary to prepare them for propagating the Gospel among the distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of John Baptist Viles, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of Rome, and who began by presenting to the pontiff all his ample possessions, together with his house, which was a noble and beautiful structure, for this pious and generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of pious emulation, and is followed with zeal even to this day. The seminary was at first committed by Urban to the care and direction of three canons of the patriarchal churches; but this appointment was afterwards changed, and, ever since the year 1641, it has been governed by the *congregation* founded by Gregory XV.[d].

CENT. XVII. The college pro fide propaganda instituted by Urban VIII.

III. The same zealous spirit reached France, and produced in that country several pious foundations of a like nature. In 1663, the king instituted *the Congregation of Priests of the foreign Missions*; while an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics founded the Parisian Seminary for the Missions abroad, designed for the education of those who were set apart for the propagation of Christianity among the pagan nations. Hence apostolical vicars are still sent to Siam, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Persia, bishops to Bagdad, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations; and all these spiritual envoys are supported by the ample revenues and possessions of

Congregations or colleges of the same nature founded in France.

[d] Helyot, Histoire des Ordres, tom. viii. cap. xii.—Urb. Cerri, Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 293, where, however, the founder of this college is called, by mistake, Vives.

 the *congregation* and *seminary*[e]. These priests of the foreign missions[f], and the apostles whom they send into foreign countries, are almost perpetually involved in altercations and debates with the Jesuits and their missionaries. The former are shocked at the methods which are ordinarily employed by the latter in converting the Chinese and other Asiatics to the Christian religion; and the Jesuits, in their turn, absolutely refuse obedience to the orders of the apostolical vicars and bishops, who receive their commission from the congregation above-mentioned, though this commission be issued out with the consent of the pope, or of the College *de propagandâ fide* residing at Rome. There was also another religious establishment formed in France, during this century, under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Sacrament, whose founder was Autherius, bishop of Bethlehem, and which, in 1644, received an order from Urban VIII. to have always a number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope, or the Congregation *de propagandâ fide*, for that purpose. It would be endless to mention other associations of less note, that were formed in several countries for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations; as also the care taken by the Jesuits, and other religious communities, to have a number of missionaries always ready for that service.

Missionaries multiply, more especially those of the Jesuits.

IV. These congregations and colleges sent forth those legions of missionaries, who, in this century, covered a great part of the globe, and converted to the profession of Christianity at least, if not to its temper and spirit, multitudes of persons among the

[e] See the Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum, tom. vii. p. 1024. —Helyot, Histoire des Ordres, tom. viii. chap. xii.

[f] These ecclesiastics are commonly called, in France, *Messieurs des Missions Etrangeres.*

fiercest and most barbarous nations. The religious orders, that made the greatest figure in these missions, were the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, who, though concerned in one common cause, agreed very ill among themselves, publicly accusing each other, with the most bitter reproaches and invectives, of want of zeal in the service of Christ, and even of corrupting the purity of the Christian doctrine to promote their ambitious purposes. But none of these teachers of religion were so generally accused of sinister views and unworthy practices, in this respect, as the Jesuits, who were singularly odious in the eyes of all the other missionaries, and were looked upon as a very dangerous and pernicious set of apostles by a considerable part of the Romish church. Nor, indeed, could they be viewed in any other light, if the general report be true, that, instead of instructing their proselytes in the genuine doctrines of Christianity, they then taught, and still teach, a corrupt system of religion and morality, that is not burthensome to the conscience, and is reconcileable with the indulgence of gross appetites and passions;—that they not only tolerate, but even countenance, in new converts, several profane opinions and superstitious rites and customs;—that, by commerce, carried on with the most rapacious avidity, and various other methods, little consistent with probity and candor, they have already acquired an overgrown opulence, which they augment from day to day;—that they burn with the thirst of ambition, and are constantly gaping after worldly honors and prerogatives;—that they are perpetually employing the arts of adulation, and the seductions of bribery, to insinuate themselves into the friendship and protection of men in power;—that they are deeply involved in civil affairs, in the cabals of courts, and the intrigues of politicians;—and finally, that they frequently excite intestine commotions and civil wars, in those states and kingdoms, where their views are obstructed or disappointed, and refuse obedience to the Roman

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pontiff, and to the vicars and bishops that bear his commission. These accusations are indeed grievous, but they are perfectly well attested, being confirmed by the most striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a prodigious number of unexceptionable witnesses. Among these we may reckon many of the most illustrious and respectable members of the church of Rome, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, on one hand, or be considered as the effect of temerity or ignorance on the other; such are the cardinals, the members of the Congregation *de propagandâ fide*, and even some of the popes themselves. These testimonies are supported and confirmed by glaring facts, even by the proceedings of the Jesuits in China, Abyssinia, Japan, and India, where they have dishonored the cause of Christianity, and, by their corrupt practices, have injured, in the most sensible manner, the interest of Rome[g].

The Jesuits ill looked upon.

V. The Jesuits exhausted all the resources of their peculiar artifice and dexterity to impose silence upon their accusers, confound their adversaries, and give a specious color to their own proceedings. But all their stratagems were ineffectual. The court of Rome was informed of their odious frauds; and this information was, by no means, looked upon as groundless. Many circumstances concur to prove this, and among others the conduct of that congregation by which the foreign missions are carried on and directed; for it is remarkable, that, for many years past, the Jesuits have been much less employed by this congregation, than in former times, and are also treated, on almost every occasion, with a degree of circumspection that manifestly implies suspicion and diffidence. Other religious orders have evidently gained the ascendency which the Jesuits formerly

[g] The reader will find an ample relation of these facts, supported by a cloud of witnesses, in the preface to the Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus, published at Utrecht in 1741.

held; and, in the nice and critical affairs of the church, especially in what relates to the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, much greater confidence is placed in the austere sobriety, poverty, industry, and patience of the Capuchins and Carmelites, than in the opulence, artifice, genius, and fortitude, of the disciples of Loyola. On the other hand it is certain, that, if the Jesuits are not much trusted, they are more or less feared, since neither the powerful congregation, now mentioned, nor even the pontiffs themselves, venture to reform all the abuses, which they silently disapprove, or openly blame, in the conduct of this insidious order. This connivance, however involuntary, is now a matter of necessity. The opulence of the Jesuits is so excessive, and their credit and influence are so extensive and formidable, in all those parts of the world which have embraced the Romish religion, that they carry their insolence so far as to menace often the pontiff himself, who cannot, without the utmost peril, oblige them to submit to his orders, when they are disposed to be refractory. Even the decisions of the pope are frequently suggested by this powerful society; and it is only in such a case that the society treats them with unlimited respect. When they come from any other quarter, they are received in a very different manner by the Jesuits, who trample upon some of them with impunity, and interpret others with their usual dexterity, in such a manner, as to answer the views and promote the interests of their ambitious order. Such, at least, are the accounts that are generally given of their proceedings; accounts which, though contradicted by them, are supported by striking and palpable evidence.

The methods of converting practised by the Jesuits excite strong animadversion.

VI. The rise of these dissensions between the Jesuits and the other Romish missionaries, may be ascribed to the methods of conversion used by the former, which are entirely different from those that are employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of Loyola judge it proper to attack the superstition of

CENT. XVII. the Indian nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them gradually, with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowlege of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpret and explain the ancient doctrines of Paganism, and also those which Confucius taught in China, in such a manner as to soften and diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to the truths of the Gospel; and whenever they find, in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bear even the faintest resemblance to certain doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they employ all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians, that there is a great conformity between their ancient theology and the new religion they are exhorted to embrace. They go still farther; for they indulge their proselytes in the observance of all their national customs and rites, except such as are glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian worship. These rites are modified a little by the Jesuits, and are directed toward a different set of objects, so as to form a sort of coalition betwen Paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendency over the untutored minds of these simple Indians, they study their natural inclinations and propensities, comply with them on all occasions, and carefully avoid whatever may shock them; and, as in all countries the clergy, and men of eminent learning, are supposed to have a considerable influence on the multitude, so the Jesuits are particularly assiduous in courting the friendship of the Indian priests, which they obtain by various methods, in the choice of which they are far from being scrupulous. But the protection of men in power is the great object at which they principally aim, as the surest method of establishing their authority, and extending their influence. With this view, they study all the arts that can render them agreeable or useful to great men; apply themselves to the mathematics, physic, poetry,

the theory of painting, sculpture, architecture, and other elegant arts; and persevere in studying men and manners, the interests of princes, and the affairs of the world, in order to prepare them for giving counsel in critical situations, and suggesting expedients in perplexing and complicated cases. It would be endless to enumerate all the circumstances that have been complained of in the proceedings of the Jesuits. These, now mentioned, have ruined their credit in the esteem of the other missionaries, who consider their artful and insidious dealings as every way unsuitable to the character and dignity of the ambassadors of Christ, whom it becomes to plead the cause of God with an honest simplicity, and an ingenuous openness and candor, without any mixture of dissimulation or fraud. And, accordingly, we find the other religious orders, that are employed in the foreign missions, proceeding in a very different method in the exercise of their ministry. They attack openly the superstitions of the Indians, in all their connexions and in all their consequences, and are studious to remove whatever might tend to nourish them. They shew little regard to the ancient rites and customs in use among the blinded nations, and little respect for the authority of those by whom they were established. They treat, with an indifference bordering upon contempt, the pagan priests, grandees, and princes; and preach, without disguise, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, while they attack, without hesitation or fear, the superstitions of those nations they are called to convert.

Christianity propagated in India.

VII. These missionaries diffused the fame of the Christian religion through a great part of Asia during this century. The ministerial labors of the Jesuits, Theatins, and Augustinians, contributed to introduce some rays of divine truth, mixed, indeed, with much darkness and superstition, into those parts of India which had been possessed by the Portuguese, before their expulsion by the Dutch. But, of all the missions that were established in those di-

CENT. XVII. stant parts of the globe, no one has been more constantly and generally applauded than that of Madura, or is said to have produced more abundant and permanent fruit. It was undertaken and executed by Robert de Nobili[h], an Italian Jesuit, who took a very singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Considering, on one hand, that the Indians beheld all Europeans with an eye of prejudice and aversion, and, on the other, that they held in the highest veneration the order of Brachmans or Bramins, as descended from the Gods; and that, impatient of other rulers, they paid an implicit and unlimited obedience to them alone; he assumed the appearance and title of a Bramin who had come from a distant country, and, by smearing his countenance, and imitating that most austere and painful method of living which the Sanianes or penitents observe, he at length persuaded the credulous people that he was, in reality, a member of that venerable order[i]. By this stratagem he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent Bramins, whose example and influence en-

[h] Others call this famous missionary Robert de Nobilibus.

[i] Urban Cerri, Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 173.

☞ Nobili, who was looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of the Indians after Francis Xavier, took incredible pains to acquire knowlege of the religion, customs, and language of Madura, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all; for, to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Bramin as an impostor, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, shewing that the Bramins of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended, in a direct line, from the god Brama. Father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the History of his Order, something yet more remarkable; even that Robert de Nobili, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared *upon oath*, before the assembly of the Bramins of Madura, that he really derived his origin from the god Brama. Is it not astonishing that this reverend father should acknowlege, is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See Jouvenci, Histoire des Jesuites; and Norbert, Memoires Historiques sur les Missions de Malab. tom. ii. p. 145.

gaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions, and to receive the doctrine of this famous missionary. On the death of Robert, this singular mission was for some time at a stand, and seemed even to be neglected[k]; but it was renewed by the zeal and industry of the Portuguese Jesuits, and is still carried on by several missionaries of that order, from France and Portugal, who have inured themselves to the terrible austerities that were practised by Robert, and which have thus become, as it were, the appendages of that mission. These fictitious Bramins, who boldly deny their being Europeans or Franks[l], and only give themselves out for inhabitants of the northern regions, are said to have converted a prodigious number of Indians to Christianity; and, if common report may be credited, the congregations which they have already founded in those countries grow more numerous from year to year. Nor, indeed, do these accounts appear, in the main, unworthy of belief[m], though we must not be too

[k] Urban Cerri, Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 173.

[l] The Indians distinguish all the Europeans by the general denomination of *Franks*, or (as they pronounce the word) *Franghis*.

[m] The Jesuits seem to want words to express the glory that has accrued to their order from the remarkable success and the abundant fruits of this famous mission, as also the dreadful sufferings and hardships which their missionaries sustained in the course of their ministry. See the Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes, ecrites des Missions Etrangeres, tom. i. where father Martin observes, that this mission surpasses all others; that each missionary baptizes, at least, a thousand converts every year; that, nevertheless, baptism is not indiscriminately administered, or granted with facility and precipitation to every one who demands it; that those who present themselves to be baptized, are accurately examined until they exhibit sufficient proofs of their sincerity, and are carefully instructed during a period of four months in order to their reception; that, after their reception, they live like angels rather than like men; and that the smallest appearance of a mortal sin is scarcely, if ever, to be found among them. If any one is curious enough to inquire into the causes that produced such an uncommon degree of sanctity among these new converts, the Jesuits allege the two following: The first is modestly drawn from the holy lives and examples of the

CENT. XVII. ready to receive, as authentic and well attested, the relations which have been given of the in-

missionaries, who pass their days in the greatest austerity, and in acts of mortification that are terrible to nature (see tom. xii. p. 206; tom. xv. p. 211,); who are not allowed, for instance, to take bread, wine, fish, or flesh, but are obliged to be satisfied with water and vegetables, dressed in the most insipid and disgusting manner, and whose clothing and other circumstances of life are answerable to their miserable diet. The second cause of this unusual appearance, alleged by the Jesuits, is the situation of these new Christians, by which they are cut off from all communication and intercourse with the Europeans, who are said to have corrupted, by their licentious manners, almost all the other Indian proselytes. Add, to all this, other considerations, which are scattered up and down in the Letters above cited, tom. i. p. 16, 17; tom. ii. p. 1; tom. iii. p. 217; tom. v. p. 2; tom. vi. p. 119; tom. ix. p. 126. Madura is a separate kingdom situated in the midst of the Indian peninsula beyond the Ganges *. There is an accurate map of the territory comprehended in the mission of Madura, published by the Jesuits in the xvth tome of the Lettres Curieuses, p. 60. The French Jesuits set on foot, in the kingdom of Carnate and in the adjacent provinces, a mission like that of Madura; and, toward the conclusion of this century, other missionaries of the same order formed an enterprise of the same nature in the dominions of the king of Marava. The Jesuits themselves acknowlege that the latter establishment succeeded much better than the former. The reason of this may perhaps be, that the French Jesuits, who founded the mission of Carnate, could not endure, with such constancy and patience, the austere and mortified manner of living which an institution of this nature required, nor imitate the rigid self-denial of the Bramins, so well as the missionaries of Spain and Portugal. Be that as it may, all these missions, which formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned, in consequence of a mandate issued in 1744, by Benedict XIV., who declared his disapprobation of the mean and perfidious methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits, and pronounced it unlawful to make use of frauds or insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian church. See Norbert's Memoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales, tom. i. and iv. Mammachius has given an account of this matter, and also published the mandate of Benedict, in his Orig. et Antiq. Christian. tom. ii. p. 245. See also Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits.

☞ * This is a mistake. Madura is in the Indian peninsula on this side of the Ganges, and not beyond it. Its chief produce is rice, which is one of the principal instruments used by the rich Jesuits in the conversion of the poor Indians.

tolerable hardships and sufferings sustained by these Jesuit-Bramins in the cause of Christ. Many imagine, and not without good foundation, that their austerities are (generally speaking) more dreadful in appearance than in reality; and that, while they outwardly affect an extraordinary degree of self-denial, they indulge themselves privately in a free, and even luxurious mode of living, have their tables delicately served, and their cellars exquisitely furnished, in order to refresh themselves after their labors.

In the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, &c.

VIII. The knowlege of Christianity was first conveyed to the kingdoms of Siam, Tong-king or Tonquin, and Cochin-China, by a mission of Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander of Rhodes, a native of Avignon [n], whose instructions were received with uncommon docility by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of those countries. When an account of the success of this spiritual expedition was brought to pope Alexander VII. in 1658, he resolved to commit this new church to the inspection and government of a certain number of bishops, and chose for this purpose some French priests out of the Congregation of foreign Missions to carry his orders to the rising community, and to rule over it as his representatives and vicegerents. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely an equal, treated these pious men with the greatest indignity, loaded them with injuries and reproaches, and would not permit them to share their labors or partake of their glory [o]. Hence arose, in the court of Rome, a long

[n] See the writings of Alexander de Rhodes, who was undoubtedly a man of sense and spirit, and more especially his Travels, which were published at Paris in 1666.

[o] There were several pamphlets and memorials published at Paris, in the years 1666, 1674, and 1681, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-laborers in the conversion of the Indians, relate, in an eloquent and affecting strain, the injuries they had received from that jealous and ambitious order. The most ample and accurate narration of that kind was published in 1688 by Francis Pallu,

CENT. XVII. and tedious contest, which served to shew, in the plainest manner, that the Jesuits were ready enough to make use of the authority of the pope, when it was necessary to promote their interests, or to extend their influence and dominion; but that they did not hesitate, on the other hand, to treat the same authority with indifference and contempt in all cases, where it seemed to oppose their private views and personal interests. After this, Louis XIV. sent a solemn ambassy [p], in 1684, to the king of Siam,

whom the pope had created bishop of Heliopolis. The same subject is largely treated in the Gallia Christiana of the learned Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027; and a concise account of it is also given by Urban Cerri, in his Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 199. The latter author, though a secretary of the Congregation de propaganda fide, yet inveighs with a just severity and a generous warmth against the perfidy, cruelty, and ambition of the Jesuits, and laments it as a most unhappy thing, that the congregation, now mentioned, had not sufficient power to set limits to the rapacity and tyranny of that arrogant society. He farther observes, toward the end of his narrative, which is addressed to the pope, that he was not at liberty to reveal all the abominations which the Jesuits had committed, during the course of this contest, but, by the order of his holiness, was obliged to pass them over in silence. His words are, *Votre Sainteté a ordonné qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret.*—See also, on this topic, Helyot's Histoire des Ordres, tom. viii.

☞ [p] The French bishops of Heliopolis, Berytus, and Metellopolis, who had been sent into India about the year 1663, had prepared the way for this ambassy, and, by an account of the favorable dispositions of the monarch then reigning at Siam, had encouraged the French king to make a new attempt for the establishment of Christianity in those distant regions. A fixed residence had been formed at Siam for the French missionaries, together with a seminary for instructing the youth in the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements (or *camps*, as they were called) at the capital. A church was also erected there, by the king's permission, in 1667; and that prince proposed several questions to the missionaries, which seemed to discover a propensity to inform himself concerning their religion. The bishop of Heliopolis, who had gone back to Europe on the affairs of the mission, returned to Siam in 1673, with letters from Louis and pope Clement IX., accompanied with rich presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favors bestowed on the French bishops. In a private audience to which he was admitted, he explained, in an answer to a question proposed to him by the king of Siam, the motive that had

whose prime minister, at that time, was a Greek Christian, named Constantine Falcon, a man of an artful, ambitious, and enterprising spirit. The design of this ambassy was to engage the pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the Gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were attended by a great retinue of priests and Jesuits, some of whom were well acquainted with such branches of science as were agreeable to the taste of the king of Siam. It was only, however, among a small part of the people, that the labors of these missionaries were crowned with any degree of success; for the monarch himself, and the great men of his kingdom, remained unmoved by their exhortations, and deaf to their instructions [q]. The king, indeed, though

engaged the French bishops to cross so many seas, and the French king to send his subjects to countries so far from home; observing, that a strong desire, in his prince, to extend the kingdom of the true God, was the sole reason of their voyage. Upon this we are told, that the king of Siam offered a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built to the honor of Louis the Great, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside; and declared afterwards, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all his subjects at liberty to embrace the Romish faith. All this raised the hopes of the missionaries to a very high pitch; but the expectations which they thence derived of converting the king himself were entirely groundless, as may be seen from a very remarkable declaration of that monarch in the following note. See the Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Eveques François.

☞ [q] When Monsieur de Chaumont, who was charged with this famous ambassy, arrived at Siam, he presented a long memorial to the monarch of that country, intimating how solicitous the king of France was to have his Siamese majesty of the same religion with himself. Chaw Naraya (for so was the latter named), who seems to have always deceived the French by encouraging words, which administered hopes that he never intended to accomplish, answered this memorial in a very acute and artful manner. After asking who had made the king of France believe that he entertained any such sentiments, he desired his minister Falcon to tell the French ambassador, "That he left it to his most Christian majesty to judge, whether "the change of a religion that had been followed in his domi- "nions without interruption for 2229 years, could be a matter "of small importance to him, or a demand with which it was "easy to comply;—that, besides, he was much surprised to

CENT. XVII. he chose to persevere in the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration toward the conductors of this mission; and his favorite Constantine had secretly invited the French to Siam to support him in his authority, which was beheld with an envious eye by several of the grandees. As long as this prince and his minister lived, the French retained some hopes of accomplishing their purpose, and of converting the nation to the faith; but these hopes entirely vanished in 1688, when, in a popular sedition, excited and fomented by some prince of the blood, both the king and his minister were put to death [r]; and then the missionaries returned home.

"find the king of France concern himself so zealously and so "warmly in a matter which related to *God* and not to *him*; "and in which, though it related to God, the Deity did not "seem to interfere at all, but left it entirely to human discre-"tion." The king asked, at the same time, "Whether the "true God, who created heaven and earth, and had bestowed "on mankind such different natures and inclinations, could not, "when he gave to men the same bodies and souls, have also, if "he had pleased, inspired them with the same religious senti-"ments, and have made all nations live and die in the same "laws." He added, that, "since order among men, and "unity in religion, depend absolutely on the divine will, which "could as easily introduce them into the world as a diversity "of sects, it is natural thence to conclude, that the true God "takes as much pleasure to be honored by different modes of "religion and worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious number "of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own "way." He moreover asked, "Whether that beauty and va-"riety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admi-"rable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming in "the wisdom of God?—However that may be (continued the "king of Siam), since we know that God is the absolute master "of the world, and we are persuaded that nothing comes to pass "contrary to his will, I resign my person and dominions into "the arms of his providence, and beseech his eternal wisdom to "dispose thereof according to his good will and pleasure." See Tachard's Prem. Voyage de Siam, p. 218; as also the Journal of the Abbé Choisi.

[r] An account of this ambassy, and of the transactions both of ambassadors and missionaries, is given by Tachard, Chaumont, and La Loubere. The relations, however, of the author last-mentioned, who was a man of learning and candor, deserve undoubtedly the preference.

In China.

IX. China, the most extensive and opulent of all the Asiatic kingdoms, could not but appear, to the missionaries and their constituents, an object worthy of their pious zeal and spiritual ambition. And accordingly a numerous tribe of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, set out about the commencement of this century, with a view to enlighten that immense region with the knowlege of the Gospel. All these, however they differed in other matters, agreed in proclaiming the astonishing success of their ministerial labors. It is nevertheless certain, that the principal honor of these religious exploits belonged to the Jesuits, who, with peculiar dexterity and address, removed the chief obstacles to the progress of Christianity, among a people whose natural acuteness and pride were accompanied with a superstitious attachment to the religion and manners of their ancestors. These artful missionaries studied the temper, character, taste, inclinations and prejudices of the Chinese, with incredible attention; and perceiving that their natural sagacity was attended with an ardent desire of improvement, and that they took the highest pleasure in the study of the arts and sciences, and more especially in the mathematics, they lost no occasion of sending for such members of their order as, beside their knowlege of mankind, and prudence in transacting business, were also masters of the different branches of learning and philosophy. Some of these learned Jesuits acquired such a high degree of credit and influence by their sagacity and eloquence, the insinuating sweetness and facility of their manners, and their surprising dexterity and skill in all kinds of transactions, that they were at length gratified by the emperor with the most honorable marks of distinction, and were employed in the most secret and important deliberations and affairs of the cabinet. Under the auspicious protection of such powerful patrons, the other missionaries, though of a lower rank and of inferior talents, were delivered from all apprehension of

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danger in the exercise of their ministry, and were thus encouraged to exert themselves with spirit, vigor, and perseverance, in the propagation of the Gospel, in all the provinces of that mighty empire.

The progress of Christianity in China.

X. This promising scene was clouded for some time, when Xun-chi, the first Chinese emperor of the Mogol race, died, and left, as his only heir, a son who was a minor. The grandees of the empire, to whose tuition and care this young prince was committed, had long entertained an aversion to Christianity, and only sought for a convenient occasion of venting their rage against it. This occasion was now offered and greedily embraced. The guardians of the young prince abused his power to execute their vindictive purposes, and, after using their utmost efforts to extirpate Christianity wherever it was professed, they persecuted its patrons, more especially the Jesuits, with great bitterness, deprived them of all the honors and advantages they had enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost barbarity and injustice. John Adam Schaal, their chief, whose advanced age and extensive knowlege, together with the honorable place which he held at court, seemed to demand some marks of exemption from the calamities that pursued his brethren, was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, while the other missionaries were sent into exile. These dismal scenes of persecution were exhibited in 1664; but, about five years after this gloomy period, when Kang-hi assumed the reins of government, a new face of things appeared. The Christian cause, and the labors of its ministers, not only resumed their former credit and vigor, but even gained ground, and received such distinguished marks of protection from the throne, that the Jesuits usually date from this period the commencement of the golden age of Christianity in China. The new emperor, whose noble and generous spirit[s] was equal

[s] See Joach. Bouveti Icon Monarchæ Sinarum, translated into Latin by the famous Leibnitz, and published in 1699, in the second part of his Novissima Sinica. See also Du Halde's

to the uncommon extent of his genius, and to his ardent curiosity in the investigation of truth, began his reign by recalling the Jesuits to his court, and restoring them to the credit and influence which they had formerly enjoyed. But his generosity and munificence did not stop here; for he sent to Europe for a still greater number of the members of that order, such of them particularly as were eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil negotiations and transactions of the greatest importance. Others he chose for his private friends and counsellors, who were to assist him with their advice in various points, and to direct his philosophical and mathematical studies. These private friends and counsellors were principally chosen from among the French Jesuits. Thus the order was raised, in a short time, to the very summit of favor, and invested with a degree of authority and lustre which it had not before attained. In such a state of things, it is natural to conclude, that the Christian religion would not want powerful patrons, and that its preachers would not be left destitute and unsupported. Accordingly a multitude of spiritual laborers from all parts of Europe repaired to China, allured by the prospect of a rich, abundant, and glorious harvest; and, indeed, the success of their ministry seemed to answer fully the extent of their expectations, since it is well known that, with very little pains, and still less opposition, they made a prodigious number of converts to the profession of the Gospel. At length Christianity seemed to triumph in 1692, when the emperor, from an excessive attachment to the Jesuits, issued that remarkable edict, by which he declared, that the Christian religion was in no wise detrimental to the safety or inter-

Description de la Chine, and the Lettres Edifiantes, in which the Jesuits give an account of the success of their missions. In these productions, the virtues and talents of this emperor, which seem indeed to be universally acknowleged, are described and celebrated with peculiar encomiums.

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ests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended; and by which also he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a full permission to embrace the Gospel. This triumph was farther confirmed, when the same prince, in 1700, ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace [t].

The Jesuits accused of fraudulent practices.

XI. This surprising success of the Christian cause may undoubtedly be attributed to the dexterity and perseverance of the Jesuits, as even the greatest enemies of that artful order are obliged to acknowlege. But it is quite another question, whether this success was obtained by methods agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and consistent with the dignity and genius of the Christian religion. The latter point has long been debated, with great animosity and vehemence, on both sides. The adversaries of the Jesuits, whose opposition is as keen as their numbers are formidable, and more especially the Jansenists and Dominicans, assert boldly, that the success above-mentioned was obtained by the most odious frauds, and even, in many cases, by detestable crimes. They charge the Jesuits with having given a false exposition and a spurious account of the ancient religion of the Chinese, and with having endeavoured to persuade the emperor and the nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and the doctrine of their great instructor and philosopher Confucius, scarcely differed in any respect from the doctrine of

[t] There is a concise but interesting account of these revolutions, given by Du Halde, in his Description de la Chine, tom. iii., and by the Jesuit Fontaney, in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, tom. viii.—They are related in a more diffuse and ample manner by other writers.—See Suarez, de Libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas propagandi Narratio, published in 1698 by Leibnitz, in the first part of his Novissima Sinica. The other authors who have treated this branch of history are mentioned by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii, cap. xxxix. See also an Ecclesiastical History of China, which I published in German in 1748. ☞ This history was translated into English, and published in 1750, with this title; Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China.

the Gospel. The missionaries are farther charged with having invented a variety of historical fictions, in order to persuade the Chinese (who are warmly attached to whatever carries the air of remote antiquity), that Jesus Christ had been known and worshiped in their nation many ages ago; and these fictions are supposed to have prejudiced the emperor in favor of Christianity, and to have engaged certain grandees not only to grant their protection to the Jesuits, but even to become members of their society. The disciples of Loyola are also said to have lost sight of all the duties and obligations that are incumbent on the ministers of Christ, and the heralds of a spiritual kingdom, by not only accepting worldly honors and places of civil authority and power, but even aspiring to them with all the ardor of an insatiable ambition, by boasting, with an arrogant vanity, of the protection and munificence of the emperor, by deserting the simplicity of a frugal and humble appearance, and indulging themselves in all the circumstances of external pomp and splendor, such as costly garments, numerous retinues, luxurious tables, and magnificent houses. To all this it is added, that they employed much more zeal and industry in the advancement of human science, especially the mathematics, than in promoting Christian knowlege and virtue; and that they even went so far as to interfere in military matters, and to concern themselves, both personally and by their counsels, in the bloody scenes of war. While these heavy crimes are laid to the charge of those Jesuits, who, by their capacity and talents, had been raised to a high degree of credit in the empire, the more obscure members of that same order, who were appointed more immediately to instruct the Chinese in the truths of the Gospel, are far from being considered as blameless. They are accused of having employed, in the practice of usury, and in various kinds of traffic, the precious moments which ought to have been consecrated to the functions of their ministry, and of having used low and dishonorable methods

of advancing their fortunes, and insinuating themselves into the favor of the multitude. The Jesuits acknowlege, that some of these accusations are founded upon facts; but they give a specious color to these facts, and use all their artifice and eloquence to justify what they cannot deny. Other articles of these complaints they treat as groundless, and as the fictions of calumny, invented with no other design than to cast a reproach upon their order. An impartial inquirer into these matters will perhaps find, that if, in several points, the Jesuits defend themselves in a very weak and unsatisfactory manner, there are others, in which their misconduct seems to have been exaggerated by envy and prejudice in the complaints of their adversaries.

An account of the principal charge brought against the Jesuits.

XII. The grand accusation that is brought against the Jesuits in China, is this: That they make an impious mixture of light and darkness, of Chinese superstition and Christian truth, in order to triumph with the greater speed and facility over the prejudices of that people against the doctrine of the Gospel; and that they allow their converts to retain the profane customs and the absurd rites of their pagan ancestors. Ricci, who was the founder of the Christian church in that famous monarchy, declared it as his opinion, that the greatest part of those rites, which the Chinese are obliged by the laws of their country to perform, might be innocently observed by the new converts. To render this opinion less shocking, he supported and explained it upon the following principle; that these rites were of a civil and not of a sacred nature; that they were invented from views of policy, and not for any purposes of religion; and that none but the very dregs of the populace in China, considered them in any other light [u]. This opinion was not only rejected by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in this important

[u] See Mammachii Origines et Antiquit. Christian. tom. ii. p. 373.

mission, but also by some even of the most learned Jesuits both in China and Japan, and particularly by Nicolas Lombard, who published a memorial, containing the reasons[v] upon which his dissent was founded. This contest, which was long carried on in a private manner, was brought, by the Dominicans, before the tribunal of the pontiff, in the year 1645; and from that period it continued to produce great divisions, cabals, and commotions, in the church of Rome. Innocent X., in the year now mentioned, pronounced in favor of the Dominicans, and highly condemned the indulgence which the Jesuits had shewn to the Chinese superstitions. But, about eleven years after, this sentence, though not formally reversed, was virtually annulled by Alexander VII., at the instigation of the Jesuits, who persuaded that pontiff to allow the Chinese converts the liberty of performing several of the rites to which they had been accustomed, and for which they discovered a peculiar fondness. This, however, did not prevent the Dominicans from renewing their complaints in 1661, and also in 1674, under the pontificate of Innocent XI., though the power and credit of the Jesuits seemed to triumph over all their remonstrances. This fatal dispute, which had been suspended for many years in China, broke out there again, in 1684, with greater violence than ever; and then the victory seemed to incline to the side of the Dominicans, in consequence of a decision pronounced, in 1693, by Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who acted as the delegate or vicar of the Roman pontiff, in the province of Fokien, and who was afterwards consecrated titular bishop of Conon. This ecclesiastic, by

[v] See Chr. Kortholti Præfatio ad Volumen II. Epistolar. Leibnitiar. sect. vi. To this work are subjoined the pieces composed against the Jesuits by Lombard and Antony de S. Maria, with the remarks of Leibnitz; and there is also inserted in this collection, p. 413, an ample dissertation on the Chinese philosophy, drawn up by Leibnitz, who pleads therein the cause of the Jesuits.

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a public edict, declared the opinions and practices of the Jesuits, in relation to the affairs of the Chinese mission, absolutely inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion. But the pope, to whose supreme cognisance and decision Maigrot had submitted this important edict, refused to come to a determination before the matter in debate had been carefully examined, and the reasons of each party weighed with the utmost attention; and therefore, in 1699, he appointed a congregation of chosen doctors to examine and decide this tedious controversy. This resolution of the pontiff was no sooner made public, than all the enemies of the Jesuits, in all quarters of the church of Rome, and more especially those who wished ill to the order in France, came forth with their complaints, their accusations, and invectives, and loaded the transactions and reputation of the whole society with the most bitter reproaches [w]. The Jesuits, on the other hand, were not silent or inactive. They attacked their adversaries with vigor, and defended themselves with dexterity and spirit [x].—But the conclusion of this critical and momentous contest belongs to the history of the following century.

The subject of the dispute between the Chinese missionaries reducible to two great points:

XIII. If, in considering this controversy, which employed the ablest pens of the Romish church, we confine our attention to the merits of the cause (passing over what personally concerns the Jesuits, with

☞ [w] See the Lettres des Messieurs des Missions Etrangeres au Pape, sur les Idolatries et les Superstitions Chinoises—Revocation de l'Approbation donnée par M. Brisacier, Superieur des Missions Etrangeres, au Livre de la Defense des nouveaux Chretiens et des Missionaires de la Chine.—Deux Lettres d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de St. Dominique au R. P. Dez, Provincial des Jesuites, sur les Ceremonies de la Chine.

[x] Du Halde, Description de la Chine, tom. iii. p. 142.—See the enumeration of other writers on the same subject, given by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii, cap. xxxix. p. 665.—See also Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 318.—But the most ingenious patron of the Jesuits, on this occasion, was Father Daniel, himself a member of that famous order. See his Histoire Apologetique de la Conduite des Jesuites de la Chine, in the third volume of his Opuscules.

some other questions of a minute and incidental kind), it will appear, that the whole dispute turns essentially upon two great points; the one relating to the Chinese notion of the Supreme Being; and the other to the nature of those honors which that people offer to certain persons deceased.

First point.

As to the former of these points, it is to be observed, that the Chinese call the supreme object of their religious worship Tien and Shang-ti, which, in their language, signify the *Heavens*, and that the Jesuits employ the same terms when they speak of the true God, who is adored by the Christians. Hence it is inferred, that they make no distinction between the supreme God of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect Deity of the Christians; or (to express the same thing in other words) that they imagine the Chinese entertain the same notions concerning their Tien, or Heaven, that the Christians do concerning the God whom they adore. The question then relative to this point is properly as follows: "Do the Chinese understand, by the denominations above-mentioned, the "visible and material heavens? or are these terms, "on the contrary, employed by them to represent the "Lord of these heavens, i. e. an eternal and all perfect Being, who presides over universal nature, and, "from heaven, the immediate residence of his glory, "governs all things with unerring wisdom?" or, to express the object in fewer words, "Do the Chinese "mean, by their Tien, such a Deity as the Christians "adore?" This question the Jesuits answer in the affirmative. They maintain, that the ancient Chinese philosophers, who had an accurate knowlege of the great principles of natural religion, represented the Supreme Being almost under the very same characters that are attributed to him by Christians; and hence they not only allow their Chinese disciples to employ the terms already mentioned in their prayers to the Deity, and in their religious discourses, but even use these terms themselves, when they pronounce the name of God in their public instructions,

CENT. XVII. or in private conversation. The adversaries of the Jesuits maintain the negative of this question, regard the ancient philosophy of the Chinese as an impure source of blasphemy and impiety, and affirm, that it confounded the Divine Nature with that of the universe. They assert farther, that the famous Confucius, whose name and writings are held in such veneration by the people of China, was totally ignorant of divine truth, destitute of religious principle, and referred the origin of all things that exist to an internal and inevitable necessity. This contest, concerning the first point that divided the missionaries, produced a multitude of learned dissertations on the manners, laws, and opinions of the ancient inhabitants of China, and gave rise to several curious discoveries. But all these were insufficient to serve the chief purpose they were designed to accomplish, since they were far from giving a clear and satisfactory decision of the matter in debate. It still remained a question, which were most to be believed,—the Jesuits or their adversaries? and the impartial inquirer, after long examination, thought it prudent to trust entirely to neither; since, if it appeared on the one hand, that the Tien, or supreme God of the Chinese, was much inferior, in perfection and excellence, to the God of the Christians, it was equally evident, on the other, that this Chinese Deity was looked upon by his adorers as entirely distinct from the material æther and the visible heavens.

Second point.

XIV. As to the other point in dispute, it must be previously observed, that the ancient laws of China oblige the natives of that vast region to perform, annually, at a stated time, in honor of their ancestors, certain rites, which seem to be of a religious nature. It may also be observed, that it is a custom among the learned to pay, at stated times, to the memory of Confucius, whom the Chinese consider as the oracle of all wisdom and knowlege, certain marks of veneration that have undoubtedly a religious aspect, and which are, moreover, performed in a kind of

temple erected to that great and illustrious philosopher. Hence arises a second question, which is thus proposed: "Are those honors that the Chinese, in "general, pay to the memory of their ancestors, and "which the learned, in particular, offer at the shrine "of Confucius, of a *civil* or *sacred* nature? Are "they to be considered as religious offerings, or are "they no more than political institutions designed to "promote some public good?" The Jesuits affirm, that the ancient Chinese law-givers established these rites with no other view than to keep the people in order, and to maintain the tranquillity of the state; and that the Chinese did not pay any religious worship, either to the memory of Confucius, or to the departed souls of their ancestors, but only declared, by the performance of certain rites, their gratitude and respect to both, and their solemn resolution to imitate their virtues, and follow their illustrious examples. Hence these missionaries conclude, that the Chinese converts to Christianity might be permitted to perform these ceremonies according to the ancient custom of their country, provided they understood their true nature, and kept always in remembrance the political views with which they were instituted, and the civil purposes they were designed to serve. By this specious account of things, the conduct of the Jesuits is, in some measure, justified. But, whether this representation be true or false, it will still remain evident, that, in order to render the Christian cause triumphant in China, some such concessions and accommodations as those of the Jesuits seem almost absolutely necessary; and they who desire the *end* must submit to the use of the *means*[y]. The

☞ [y] True; if the *means* be not either criminal in themselves, pernicious in their consequences, or of such a nature as to defeat, in a great measure, the benefits and advantages proposed by the *end*. And it is a very nice and momentous question, whether the concessions pleaded for in behalf of the Chinese converts, by the Jesuits, are not to be ranked among the means here characterised. See the following note.

CENT. XVII. necessity of concession arises from this remarkable circumstance, that, by a solemn law of ancient date, it is positively declared, that no man shall be esteemed a good citizen, or be looked upon as qualified to hold any public office in the state, who neglects the observance of the ceremonies now under consideration. On the other hand, the Dominicans, and the other adversaries of the Jesuits, maintain, that the rites in question form an important branch of the Chinese religion; that the honors paid by the Chinese to Confucius, and to the souls of their ancestors, are not of a civil, but of a religious nature[z]; and conse-

☞ [z] The public honors paid to Confucius twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of table, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: 'The Throne of 'the Soul of the most holy and the most excellent chief Teacher Confucius.' The literati, or learned, celebrate this famous festival in the following manner:—The chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, sub-deacons, &c. A certain sacrifice, which consists of wine, blood, fruits, &c. is offered, after the worshipers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the inscription, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, and repeat many prayers; after which the priest, taking in one hand a cup full of wine, and in the other a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families, in honor of their deceased parents, are nearly of the same nature.

Now, in order to know, with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a civil or religious nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial spirits, or *genii*, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned Leibnitz * undertook to affirm, that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and, consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention; for it is evident, from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and particularly from the observations made on the Chinese

* See Præf. Novissim. Sinicorum.

quently, that all who perform these rites are chargeable with insulting the majesty of God, to whom alone all divine worship is due, and cannot be considered as true Christians. This account of the affair is so specious and probable, and the consequences deducible from it are so natural and just, that the more equitable and impartial among the Jesuits have acknowleged the difficulties that attend the cause they maintain; and taking, at length, refuge in the plea of necessity, allege, that certain evils and inconveniences may be lawfully submitted to when they are requisite in order to the attainment of extensive, important, and salutary purposes.

The state of Christianity in Japan.

XV. The ministerial labors of the Romish missionaries, and more especially of the Jesuits, were crowned in Japan with surprising success, about the commencement of this century, and made an incredible number of converts to the Christian religion [a]. But

missions by that learned and candid Franciscan, Antonio de S. Maria *, not only that Confucius was worshiped among the *idols*, and the celestial and terrestrial spirits of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies observed in honor of him, were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these idols and spirits. Those who desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the following authors: Budæi Annal. Histor. Philos. p. 287, where he treats *de superstitioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses Cultu.*—Wolfii Not. ad Casaubon. p. 342.—Nic. Charmos, Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam Cultus Sinensis; and more especially Arnaud, Morale Pratique des Jesuites, tom. iii. vi. vii.; and a collection of historical relations, published in 1700, under the following title: Historia Cultus Sinensium, seu varia Scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos et P. P. S. I. controversis.

☞ [a] Two peculiar circumstances contributed to facilitate the progress of the Romish religion in Japan. The first was the uncharitable severity and cruelty of the Japanese *bonzas* or priests toward the sick and indigent, compared with the humanity, zeal, and beneficence of the missionaries. These *bonzas* represented the poor and infirm not as objects of pity, but as wretches loaded with the displeasure of the gods, and abandoned to present and future misery by the judgements of Heaven; and inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them. The Christian religion, therefore, which declares that

* See vol. ii. Epist. Leibnitz.

this prosperous and flourishing state of the church was somewhat interrupted by the prejudices that the priests and grandees of the kingdom had conceived against the new religion, prejudices which proved fatal in many places, both to those who embraced it, and to those who taught it. The cause of Christianity did not, however, suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received some detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those to whom the care of the rising church was committed. For the same scenes of fraternal discord, that had given such offence in the other heathen countries, were renewed in Japan, where the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, were at perpetual variance

poverty and afflictions are often surer marks of the divine favor than grandeur and prosperity, and that the transitory evils which the righteous endure here, shall be crowned with everlasting glory and felicity hereafter, was every way proper to comfort this unhappy class of persons, and could not but meet with a most favorable reception among them. Add to this, that the missionaries were constantly employed in providing them with food, medicine, and habitations. A second circumstance that was advantageous to Christianity (that is, to such a form of Christianity as the popish missionaries preached in Japan), was a certain resemblance or analogy between it and some practices and sentiments which prevailed among the Japanese. The latter look for present and future felicity only through the merits of Xaca Amida, and other of their deities, who, after a long course of severe mortifications freely undertaken, had voluntarily, also, put an end to their lives. They sainted many melancholy persons who had been guilty of suicide, celebrated their memories, and implored their intercession and good offices. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes in their worship; as also prayers for the dead, and auricular confession; and had monasteries founded for devout persons of both sexes, who lived in celibacy, solitude, and abstinence; so that the Japanese religion was not an inapplicable preparation for popery. Beside these two circumstances, another may be mentioned, which we take from the letters of the Jesuits themselves, who inform us, that the princes of the maritime parts of Japan were so fond of this new commerce with the Portuguese, that they strove who should oblige them most, and encouraged the missionaries, less perhaps from a principle of zeal, than from views of interest. See Varenius' Descrip. Japon. lib. iii. cap. vi. x. and the Modern Univ. History.

with the Jesuits. This variance produced, on both sides, the heaviest accusations, and the most bitter reproaches. The Jesuits were charged, by the missionaries of the three orders now mentioned, with insatiable avarice, with shewing an excessive indulgence, both to the vices and superstitions of the Japanese, with crafty and low practices unworthy of the ministers of Christ, with an ambitious thirst after authority and dominion, and other misdemeanors of a like nature. These accusations were not only exhibited at the court of Rome, but were spread abroad in every part of Christendom. The disciples of Loyola were by no means silent under these reproaches; but, in their turn, charged their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their way of living; adding, that these circumstances rendered their ministry rather detrimental than advantageous to the cause of Christianity, among a people remarkable for their penetration, generosity, and magnificence. Such then were the contests that arose among the missionaries in Japan; and nothing but the amazing progress that Christianity had already made, and the immense multitude of those who had embraced it, could have prevented these contests from being fatal to its interests. As the case stood, neither the cause of the Gospel, nor its numerous professors, received any essential damage from these divisions; and, if no other circumstance had intervened to stop its progress, an expedient might have probably been found out, either to heal these divisions, or at least to appease them so far as to prevent them from being attended with mischievous and calamitous consequences [b].

Its downfall and extirpation.

XVI. But a new and dreadful scene of opposition arose, in 1615, to blast the hopes of those who wished well to the cause of Christianity in Japan; for, in

[b] See the writers on this subject enumerated by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii, p. 678, as also Charlevoix, Histoire Generale de Japon, tom. ii. liv. xi.

that year, the emperor issued, against the professors and ministers of that divine religion, a persecuting edict, which was executed with a degree of barbarity unparalleled in the annals of the Christian history. This cruel persecution raged for many years with unrelenting fury, and only ended with the extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. That religion, which had been suffered to make such a rapid and triumphant progress in Japan, was at length considered as detrimental to the interest of the monarchy, inconsistent with the good of the people, and derogatory from the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered as a person descended from the gods; and, on these accounts, it was judged unworthy not only of protection, but even of toleration. This judgement was followed by the fatal order, by which all foreigners that were Christians, and more especially the Spaniards and Portuguese, were commanded to quit the kingdom; and the natives, who had embraced the Gospel, were required to renounce the name and doctrine of Christ, on pain of death presented to them in the most dreadful forms. This tremendous order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors as the most sanguine and atrocious imagination will scarcely be able to conceive. Innumerable multitudes of the Japanese Christians of each sex, and of all ages, ranks, and stations, expired with magnanimous constancy, amidst the most dreadful torments, rather than apostatise from the faith they had embraced. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that both the Jesuits and their adversaries in the missions expiated, in some measure, if I may so express myself, by the agonies they endured, and the fortitude with which they suffered, the faults they had committed in the exercise of their ministry. For it is well known, that the greatest part of them died magnanimously for the cause of Christ by the hands of the executioner, and that some of them even expired with triumphant feelings of satisfaction and joy.

Historians are not entirely agreed with respect to the real causes of this merciless persecution. The Jesuits consider it as having been occasioned, in part, by the imprudence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; while the latter impute it, in a great measure, to the covetous, arrogant, and factious spirit of the Jesuits [c]. Both parties accuse the English and Dutch of having excited in the emperor of Japan a strong prejudice against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and the Roman pontiff, to the end that they alone might engross the commerce of that vast monarchy, and be unrivaled in their credit among that powerful people. The English and Dutch allege, on the other hand, that they never attempted to undermine, by any false accusations, the credit of the Roman catholics in that kingdom, but only detected the perfidious plots the Spaniards had laid against it. Almost all the historians, who have given accounts of this country, concur in affirming, that certain letters, intercepted by the Dutch, and other circumstances of a very striking and alarming kind, had persuaded the emperor, that the Jesuits, as also the other missionaries, had formed seditious designs against his government, and aimed at nothing less than exciting their numerous disciples to rebellion, with a view to reduce the kingdom of

[c] There is a concise and sensible account of this tedious dispute in the sixth discourse that is subjoined to the English edition of Kæmpfer's History of Japan, sect. iv. But it will also be proper to see what is said on the other side, by an author, who, in his long and circumstantial narration, has not omitted any incident, however minute, that tends, in the least, to exculpate the Jesuits, or to procure them indulgence; that author is Charlevoix; see his Histoire Generale de Japon, tom. ii. liv. xii. The other historians that may be consulted with utility on this subject, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii, cap. x. p. 678. Add to these the Acta Sanctorum, tom. i. Mens. Februar. p. 723, where we find not only a history of the commencement and progress of Christianity in Japan, but also an account of the lives and martyrdom of those who first suffered for the cause of the Gospel in that kingdom. See likewise Mammachii Origines et Antiquitat. Christian. tom. ii. p. 376.

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Japan under the dominion of Spain [d]. A discovery of this nature could not but make the most dreadful impressions upon a prince naturally suspicious and cruel, such as the emperor then reigning was; and, indeed, as soon as he had received this information, he concluded, with equal precipitation and violence, that he could not sit secure on his throne, while the smallest spark of Christianity remained unextinguished in his dominions, or any of its professors breathed under his government. It is from this remarkable period, that we must date the severe edict by which all Europeans are forbidden to approach the Japanese dominions, and in consequence of which all the terrors of fire and sword are employed to destroy whatever carries the remotest aspect or shadow of the Christian doctrine. The only exception from this general law is made in favor of some Dutch merchants, who are allowed to import annually a certain quantity of European commodities, and have a factory, or rather a kind of prison, allowed them, in one of the extremities of the kingdom, where they are strictly watched, and rigorously precluded from all communication with the natives, but what is essentially necessary to the commerce they are permitted to carry on.

Protestant missions in Asia.

XVII. The example of the Roman catholic states could not but excite a spirit of pious emulation in Protestant countries, and induce them to propagate a still purer form of Christianity among those unhappy nations that lay groveling in the darkness of Paganism and idolatry. Accordingly the Lutherans were, on several occasions, solicited by persons of eminent merit and rank in their communion, to embark in this pious and generous undertaking. Justinian Ernest, baron of Wells, distinguished himself by his zealous appearance in this good cause, having formed

☞ [d] The discoveries made by the Dutch were against the Portuguese, with whom they were then at war; so that, instead of Spain, our author should have said Portugal. See Kæmpfer's Japan and the Modern Universal History.

the plan of a society that was to be intrusted with the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and to bear the name of Jesus, the divine founder of that religion which its members were anxious to promote [e]. But several circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of this pious design, among which we may reckon, principally, the peculiar situation of the Lutheran princes, of whom very few had any territories, forts, or settlements, beyond the limits of Europe.

This was by no means the case with the princes and states who professed the reformed religion. The English and Dutch, more especially, whose ships covered the ocean, and sailed to the most distant corners of the globe, and who, moreover, in this century, had sent colonies to Asia, Africa, and America, had abundant opportunities of spreading abroad the knowlege of Christianity among the unenlightened nations. Nor were these opportunities entirely neglected, notwithstanding the reports that have generally prevailed, of their being much more zealous in engrossing the riches of the Indians than in effecting their conversion, though it may, perhaps, be granted, that neither of these nations exerted themselves, to the extent of their power, in this salutary undertaking. In 1647, the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was committed, by an act of the English parliament, to the care and inspection of a society composed of persons of eminent rank and merit. The civil wars that ensued suspended the execution of the plans that were laid for carrying on this salutary work. In 1661, under the sway of Charles II., the work was resumed, and the society re-established. In 1701, this respectable society received singular marks of protection and favor from king William III. who enriched it with

[e] See Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. iii. as also a German work of the learned Arnold, entitled, Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, part ii. book xvii. c. xv. sect. 23. part iii. cap. xv. sect. 18.

Cent. XVII. new donations and privileges[f]. Since that period, even to the present time, it has been distinguished by ample marks of the munificence of the kings of England, and of the liberality of persons of all ranks and orders, and has been, and continues to be, eminently useful in facilitating the means of instruction to the nations immersed in pagan darkness, and more especially to the Americans. Nor are the laudable efforts of the United Provinces, in the advancement and propagation of Christian knowlege, to be passed over in silence, since they also are said to have converted to the Gospel a prodigious number of Indians, in the islands of Ceylon and Formosa, on the coast of Malabar, and in other Asiatic settlements, which they either had acquired by their own industry, or obtained by conquest from the Portuguese[g]. Some historians, perhaps, may have exaggerated, in their relations, the number of proselytes made by the Dutch; it is nevertheless most certain, that, as soon as that nation had gained a firm footing in the East Indies, they planned with wisdom, and executed, at a great expence, various schemes for instructing the natives of those distant regions in the doctrines of the Gospel[h].

The African missions.

XVIII. The inward parts of Africa remain still in the darkness of Paganism, as they have been hitherto inaccessible to the most adventurous of the Europeans. But in the maritime provinces of that great peninsula, and more especially in those where the Portuguese have their settlements, there are

[f] See Humphreys' Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

[g] See Epist. de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales, ad Johan. Leusdenium script.

[h] See Braun's Veritable Religion des Hollandois, p. 71, 267, &c. This treatise, which was published at Amsterdam,, in 1675, was intended as an answer to a malignant libel of one Stoup, entitled la Religion des Hollandois, in which that writer proposed to persuade the world that the Dutch had scarcely any religion at all.

several districts in which the religion of Rome has prevailed over the savage superstitions of that barbarous region. It is nevertheless acknowleged, by the more ingenuous historians, even among the Roman catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that, of the proselytes made there to the Gospel, a very small number deserve the denomination of Christians, since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors, and the very best among them dishonor their profession by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature. Any progress that Christianity made in these parts must be chiefly attributed to the zealous labors of the Capuchin missionaries, who, in this century, suffered the most dreadful hardships and discouragements in their attempts to bring the fierce and savage Africans under the Christian yoke. These attempts succeeded so far, as to gain over to the profession of the Gospel the kings of Benin and Awerri [i], and also to engage the cruel and intrepid Anna Zingha, queen of Metamba, and all her subjects, to embrace, in 1652, the Christian faith [k]. The African missions were allotted to this austere order by the court of Rome, and by the society *de propaganda fide*, for wise reasons, since none could be so fitted for an enterprise attended with dreadful

[i] Called by some *Ouverne*.

☞ [k] For a more ample account of this queen, and her conversion, Dr. Mosheim refers the reader (in his note [r]) to Urban Cerri's Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 222, and to the third and fourth volumes of Father Labat's Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale, in the former of which, he tells us, there is a French translation of Ant. Cavazzi's account of Africa. All these citations are inaccurate. Cerri makes no mention of Zingha, or of Metamba; nor are they mentioned by Labat, in any of the five volumes of his Historical Relation; nor is Cavazzi's account translated in that work. In general it may be observed, that the missions in Africa were greatly neglected by the Portuguese, and that the few missionaries sent thither were men absolutely void of learning, and destitute of almost every qualification that was necessary to the prosecution of such an important undertaking. See Labat's Preface, as also the Modern Universal History.

hardships, difficulties, and perils, as a set of men whose monastic institute had familiarised them to the severest acts of mortification, abstinence, and penance, and thus prepared them for the bitterest scenes of trial and adversity. Although the Capuchins seem to have been alone honored with this sacred, but arduous commission, it does not appear that the other orders beheld, with the smallest sentiment of envy, their dear-bought glory.

XIX. The extensive continent of America swarms with colonies from Spain, Portugal, and France[1], all which profess the Christian religion as it has been disfigured by the church of Rome. But it is abundantly known, that these colonists, more especially the Spaniards and Portuguese, are the most worthless and profligate set of men that bear the Christian name; and this fact is confirmed by the testimonies of Roman catholic writers of great merit and authority, who cannot be suspected of partiality in this matter. Even the clergy are not excepted from this general condemnation; but, as we learn from the same credible testimonies, surpass even the idolatrous natives in the ridiculous rites which they perform in the worship of God, as well as in the licentiousness of their manners, and the enormity of the crimes they commit without reluctance. Those of the ancient inhabitants of America, who either have submitted to the European yoke, or live near the colonies, have imbibed some faint knowlege of the Romish religion, from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and other ecclesiastics; but these feeble rays of instruction are totally clouded by the gloomy suggestions of their native superstition, and the corrupt influence of their barbarous customs and manners. As to those Indians who live more remote from the European settlements, and

[1] See the authors mentioned by Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii Orbem Terrarum collustrans, cap. xlviii. xlix. p. 769.—There is a cursory account of the state of the Romish religion, in that part of America which is possessed by the European catholics, in Cerri's work above-mentioned.

wander about in the woods without any fixed habitation, they are absolutely incapable either of receiving or retaining any adequate notions of the Christian doctrine, unless they be previously reclaimed from that irregular and desultory manner of life, and civilised by an intercourse with persons, whose humane and insinuating manners are adapted to attract their love, and excite their imitation. This the Jesuits, and other ecclesiastics who have been sent in later times to convert these wandering savages, have found by a constant and uniform experience [m]. Hence the former have erected cities, and founded civil societies, cemented by government and laws, like the European states, in several Indian provinces both in South and North America; and it is on this account that they discharge the double functions of magistrates and doctors among these their new subjects and disciples, whose morals and sentiments, it is said, they endeavour to preserve pure and uncorrupted, by permitting few or no Europeans to approach them [n]. These arduous and difficult attempts have furnished to the disciples of Loyola ample matter of boasting, and a lucky occasion of extolling the zeal, the dexterity, and industry of their order. But it has appeared, from relations worthy of credit, that these exploits of the Jesuits, in the internal and more inaccessible provinces of America, are not so much carried on with a view to the propagation of Christianity, as with an intention of gratifying their own insatiable avarice and boundless ambition; and, accordingly, they are reported to send yearly to the members of their order, in Europe, immense quantities of gold, drawn from several American provinces

[m] A great variety of facts are alleged as a proof of this, in the Letters in which the French Jesuits gave their friends in Europe an account of the success and fruits of their mission, and which were regularly published at Paris.

☞ [n] That this was by no means the only, nor even the principal reason of cutting off all communication between the Indians and Europeans, will appear evident from the contents of the following note:

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[o] While Father Labat was at Rome, Tamburini, at that time general of the Jesuits, asked him several questions relating to the progress of Christianity in America; to which, with equal courage and candor, he gave immediately this general answer: "that the Gospel had made little or no real progress in that "country; that he had never met with one adult person among "the Americans who could be regarded as a true proselyte to "Christianity; and that the missionaries could scarcely pretend "to any other exploits (*of a spiritual kind*) than their having "baptized some children at the point of death." [Labat's Voyage en Espagne et en Italie, tom. viii.] He added, that, "in order to make the Americans *Christians*, it was previously "necessary to make them *men*." This bold Dominican, who had been himself a missionary in the American islands, was inclined to give Tamburini some seasonable advice concerning the immense wealth and authority that the Jesuits had acquired in those parts of the world; but the cunning old man eluded artfully this part of the conversation, and turned it upon another subject. Labat gave, on another occasion, a still greater proof of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind; for when, in an audience granted him by Clement XI. that pontiff praised, in pompous terms, the industry and zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in promoting the salvation of the Americans, and reproached the French with inactivity and indifference in a matter of such high importance, our resolute Dominican told him plainly, "that the Spaniards and Portuguese boasted "of the success of their labors without any sort of foundation; "since it was well known, that, instead of *converts*, they had "only made *hypocrites*, all their disciples among the Indians "having been forced, by the dread of punishment and the "terrors of death, to embrace Christianity;" adding, "that "such as had received baptism continued as open and egregious "idolators as they had been before their profession of Chris-"tianity." To this account we might add the relations of a whole cloud of witnesses, whose testimonies are every way worthy of credit, and who declare unanimously the same thing. See, among others, a remarkable piece, entitled, Memoire touchant l'Etablissement considerable des Peres Jesuites dans les Indes d'Espagne, which is subjoined to Frezier's Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud. See also Voyage aux Indes Occidentales, par F. Coreal, tom. ii. p. 67, and Mammachius, Orig. et Antiquit. Christian. tom. ii. p. 337. There is a particular account of the Jesuits of Paraguay, given by Don Ulloa, in his Voyage d'Amerique, tom. i. p. 540; but this account is partial in their favor. They are also zealously and artfully defended in an account of the mission of Paraguay, published by Muratori.

☞ When Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the important dis-

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XX. The cause of Christianity was promoted with greater wisdom, and consequently with better

covery that placed the ambitious, despotic, and rebellious proceedings of the Jesuits in Paraguay in the plainest and most striking light, had not been yet made. The book of Muratori deceived, for some time, the over-credulous, and induced even the enemies of the Jesuits to suspect that their conduct at Paraguay was not so criminal as it had been represented; so that, notwithstanding the accusations that had been brought against these missionaries by the writers mentioned by our historian; notwithstanding a memorial sent to the court of Spain in 1730, by Don Martin de Barua, at that time Spanish governor of Paraguay, in which the Jesuits are charged with the most ambitious projects and the most rebellious designs, represented as setting up an independent government, accused of carrying on a prodigious trade, and other things of that nature; and notwithstanding the circumstantial evidence of various known facts that supported these accusations in the strongest manner; a great proportion of the public had not just ideas upon the subject. The illusion, however did not last long. In 1750, the courts of Madrid and Lisbon entered into a treaty for fixing the limits of their respective dominions in South-America. The Jesuits, who had formed an independent republic in the heart of those dominions, composed of the Indians, whom they had gained by the insinuating softness and affeced mildness, humility, and generosity of their proceedings, were much alarmed at this treaty. It was one of the fundamental laws of this new state (which was founded under the mask of a Christian mission), that no bishop or governor, nor any officer, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nor even any individual, Spaniard or Portuguese, should be admitted into its territories, to the end that the proceedings and projects of the Jesuits might still remain an impenetrable secret. The members of their order were alone to be instructed in this profound and important mystery. The use of the Spanish language was prohibited in this new territory, in order to prevent more effectually all communication between the Indians and that nation. The Indians were trained to the use of arms, furnished with artillery, instructed in the art of war, taught to behold the Jesuits as their sovereigns and their Gods, and to look upon all white people, except the Jesuits, as demoniacs, atheists, and, moreover, as their barbarous and mortal enemies. Such was the state of affairs when, in 1752, the united troops of Spain and Portugal marched toward the eastern borders of the river Uragai, to make the exchanges of certain villages that had been agreed upon in the treaty above-mentioned. Upon this the Jesuits, not being sufficiently prepared for their defence, demanded a delay of the execution of the treaty under various pretexts. This delay was granted: but, as the Spanish general, Gomez Frere Andrada, perceived that the *holy fathers* employed this delay in arming the Indians, and confirming them in their

CENT. XVII. success, in those parts of America where the English formed settlements during this century; and, though it had the greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, it quickly made a considerable progress. The English Independents who retired to America because they dissented from the established religion of their country, claimed the honor of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal and such abundant fruit; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect that had been settled in Holland, removed thence into America[p] in 1620, in order, as they alleged, to transmit their doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages; and there they laid the foundations of a new state[q]. The success that attended this first emigration engaged great numbers of the Puritans, who groaned under the oppression of the bishops, and the severity of a court by which this oppression was authorised, to follow the fortunes of these religious adventurers[r]; and this produced a second emigration in 1629. But, notwithstanding the success

rebellion, he wrote to his court, and thence received new orders to proceed to the execution of the treaty. A war ensued between the Spanish and the Portuguese on one side, and the Indians, animated by the Jesuits, on the other, in which the Spanish general lost his life, and of which the other circumstances are well known. This was the real and original cause of the disgrace of the Jesuits at the court of Portugal. Those who desire a more particular account of this matter will find it in a famous pamphlet, drawn from an authentic memorial, published by the court of Lisbon, and printed in 1758, under the following title: *La Republique des Jesuites au Paraguay Renversée, ou Relation Authentique de la Guerre que ces Religieux ont osé soutenir contre les Monarques d'Espagne et de Portugal en Amerique, pour y defendre les domaines dont ils avoient usurpé la Souveraine au Paraguay sous pretexte de Religion.*

[p] This colony settled in that part of America which was afterwards called New Plymouth.

[q] See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 128; and also a German work, entitled, Englische Reformations Historie, by Ant. W. Bohm, b. vi. c. v.

[r] See Mather's History of New England, p. 126.—Neal, vol. ii.

which at length crowned this enterprise, its commencement was unpromising, and the colonists, immediately after their arrival, labored under such hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of this new region, that, for several years, they could make very little progress in instructing the Indians, their whole zeal and industry being scarcely sufficient to preserve the infant settlement from the horrors of famine. But, about the year 1633 [s], affairs assumed a better aspect: the colony began to flourish, and the new-comers, among whom the Puritans Mayhew, Shepherd, and Elliot, made an eminent figure, had the leisure, courage, and tranquillity of mind, that were necessary for the execution of such an important and arduous design. All these devout exiles were remarkably zealous, laborious, and successful in the conversion of the Indians; but none acquired such a shining reputation, in this pious career, as John Elliot, who learned their language (into which he translated the Bible, and other instructive and edifying books), collected the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, instructed them in a manner suited to the dullness of their comprehension, and the measure of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honorable title of the Apostle of the Indians [t].

The unexpected success that attended these pious attempts toward the propagation of Christian knowlege, drew the attention of the parliament and people of England; and the advancement of this good cause

☞ [s] Dr. Mosheim says in the year 1623; but this is probably an error of the press; for it is well known, that the emigration of Shepherd and Elliot happened between 1631 and 1634.

[t] Hornbeckius, de Conversione Indorum et Gentil. lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260.—Crescentii Matheri Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Joh. Leusdenium. ☞ The Letter to Leusden, by Increase Mather, is translated into English, and inserted in Cotton Mather's Life of Elliot, and in his History of New England, book iii. N.

 appeared an object of sufficient importance to employ the deliberations, and to claim the protection, of the great council of the nation. Thus was formed that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great purpose of its institution, namely, the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, and which, in proportion to the increase of its number, influence, revenues, and prerogatives, has still renewed and augmented its efforts for the instruction of the Pagans in all parts of the world, particularly those of the American continent. It is true, that, after all its efforts, much is yet to be done; but it is also true, and must be acknowleged by all who have examined these matters with attention and impartiality, that much has been done, and that the pious undertakings of this respectable society have been followed by unexpected fruit.—With respect to the province of Pennsylvania, which receives in its bosom, without distinction, persons of all sects and all opinions, we shall have occasion to speak of its religious state in another place. The American provinces which were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, under the command of count Maurice of Nassau, became immediately an object of the pious zeal of their new masters, who began, with great ardor and remarkable success, to spread the light of the Gospel among the wretched inhabitants of those benighted regions [u]. But this fair prospect was clouded in 1644, when the Portuguese recovered the territories they had lost. As to the Dutch settlement in Surinam, we cannot say much, having never received the smallest information of any attempts made by the colonists to instruct the neighbouring Indians in the knowlege of Christianity [w].

[u] Jo. Henr. Hottingeri Topographia Ecclesiastica, p. 47.—Janicon, Etat Present des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 396. The same author gives an account of Surinam, and of the state of religion in that colony, chap. xiv. p. 407.

☞ [w] There are three churches in that settlement for the use of the colonists; but no attempt has been made to spread the knowlege of the Gospel among the natives.

The enemies of Christianity in England.

XXI. Religion in general, and the Christian faith in particular, had many enemies to encounter in this century, though their number has been studiously diminished in the accounts of some, and greatly exaggerated in the representations of others. The English complain of the reign of Charles II. as the fatal period, when corruption of manners, and vice, in the most licentious and profligate forms, over-ran their nation, engendered a spirit of scepticism and infidelity, and formed a set of unhappy men, who employed all the wantonness of inconsiderate wit, all the sallies of imagination, and even all the force of real talent and genius, to extinguish a sense of religion in the minds of mankind. That this complaint is far from being groundless, appears, on one hand, from the number of those writers among the English, who either directed their attacks against all religion, or endeavoured to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; and, on the other, from the still superior number of learned and ingenious treatises in which the divinity, dignity, and intrinsic excellence of the Gospel, were demonstrated and displayed in the most striking and conspicuous manner. But nothing is more adapted to confirm the accounts that have been given of the progress of infidelity and licentiousness at the period now under consideration, than the famous Lectures, founded by that illustrious ornament of religion and humanity, Mr. Robert Boyle, who, in 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his large fortune to the service of Christianity, by leaving, in his last will, a sum to be distributed successively to a number of learned divines, who were to preach, in their turns, eight sermons every year, in defence of natural and revealed religion [x]. This

[x] See Ricotier's preface to his French translation of Dr. Clarke's Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God. For an account of the pious, learned, and illustrious Mr. Boyle, see Budgell's Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the Boyles: see also the Bibliotheque Britannique, tom. xii. ☞ But, above all, see the late learned Dr. Birch's Life

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pious and honorable task has been generally committed to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, and is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success. The discourses that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution have always been published; and they form at this day a large and important collection, which is known throughout all Europe, and has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue [y].

Hobbes, Rochester, &c.

XXII. The leader of the impious band in England, which, so early as the reign of Charles II., attempted to obscure the truth, and to dissolve the solemn obligations of religion, was Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, a man whose audacious pride was accompanied with an uncommon degree of artifice and address, whose sagacity was superior to his learning, and whose reputation was more owing to the subtilty and extent of his genius, than to any progress he had made either in sacred or profane erudition [z]. This man, notwithstanding the pernicious nature and tendency of his principles, had several adherents in England; and found also, in foreign countries, more than one apologist, who, though they acknowlege that his sentiments were erroneous, yet deny that he went such an impious length as to introduce the disbelief, or to overturn the worship of a Supreme Being [a]. But if it should be granted, on one hand,

of Boyle, and that very valuable collection of lives, the Biographia Britannica, Article *Boyle* (*Robert*) note [z]. See also the article *Hobbes*, in the same collection. N.

[y] There is a complete list of these learned discourses in the Bibliotheque Angloise, tom. xv. part ii. p. 416.—The late Reverend Mr. Gilbert Burnet published a judicious, comprehensive, and well-digested abridgement of such of the Lectures as had been preached before the year 1737. This abridgement comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackhall, Stanhope, Clarke, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Long, J. Clarke, Gurdon, Burnet, Berriman.

[z] See Bayle's Dictionary, and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

[a] Among the patrons and defenders of Hobbes, we may reckon Nic. Hier. Gundlingius, in his Observationes Selectæ,

that Hobbes was not totally destitute of all sense of a Deity, or of all impressions of religion, it must be allowed, on the other, by all who peruse his writings with a proper degree of attention, that his tenets lead, by natural consequences, to a contempt of religion and of divine worship; and that, in some of his productions, there are visible marks of an extreme aversion to Christianity. It has, indeed, been said of him, that, at an advanced age, he returned to a better mind, and condemned publicly the opinions and tenets he had formerly entertained[b]; but how

and in his Gundlingiana, and also Arnold, in the second part of his German history of the church and of heresy.—These writers are refuted by the learned Buddeus, in his Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione.

[b] This recantation depends upon the testimony of Wood, who informs us, that Hobbes composed an apology for himself and his writings, in which he declared, that the opinions he had published in his Leviathan were by no means conformable to his real sentiments; that he had only proposed them as a matter of debate, to exercise his mind in the art of reasoning; that, after the publication of that book, he had never maintained them either in public or in private, but had left them entirely to the judgement and decision of the church; more especially that the tenets, in this and his other writings, which seemed inconsistent with the received doctrines concerning God and religion, were never delivered by him as *truths*, but proposed as *questions* to be decided by divines and ecclesiastical judges endued with a proper authority.—Such is the account that Wood gives of the apology now under consideration; but he does not tell us the year in which it was published, which is a proof that he himself had never seen it; nor does he inform us whether it appeared during the life of Hobbes, or after his death. As indeed it is placed in the catalogue of his writings, with a date posterior to the year 1682, it is natural to suppose that it was not published during his life, since he died in 1679. It is, therefore, no easy matter to determine what stress is to be laid upon this recantation of Hobbes, or what opinion we are to form of his supposed repentance. That the apology exists, we do not pretend to deny; but it may have been composed by some of his friends, to diminish the odium which, it was natural to think, his licentious principles would cast on his memory. But should it be granted, that it was drawn up and published by Hobbes himself, even this concession would contribute little to save, or rather to recover, his reputation, since it is well known, that nothing is more common among those who, by spreading corrupt principles and pernicious opinions, have drawn upon them-

CENT. XVII. far this recantation was sincere, we shall not pretend to determine, since the reality of his repentance has been strongly questioned.

The same thing cannot be said of John earl of Rochester, who had insulted the majesty of God, and trampled upon the truths of religion and the obligations of morality with a profane sort of phrensy, that far exceeded the impiety of Hobbes, but whose repentance and conversion were also as palpable as had been his folly, and much more unquestionable than the dubious recantation of the philosopher of Malmesbury. The earl was a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, of a fine genius, and an elegant taste; but these natural talents were accompanied with the greatest levity and licentiousness, and the most impetuous propensity to unlawful pleasures. As long as health enabled him to answer the demands of passion, his life was an uninterrupted scene of debauchery [c]. He was, however, so happy in the last years of a very short life, as to see the extreme folly and guilt of his past conduct, in which salutary view he was greatly assisted by the wise and pathetic reasonings and exhortations of Doctor Burnet, afterwards bishop of Sarum. This conviction of his guilt produced a deep contrition and repentance, an ardent recourse to the mercy of God, as it is manifested in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and a sincere abhorrence of the offences he had committed against the Best of Beings. In these pious sentiments he died in 1680 [d].

selves the just indignation of the public, than, like Hobbes, to deceive the world by insidious and insincere declarations of the soundness of their belief, and the uprightness of their intentions. It is thus that they secure themselves against the execution of the laws that are designed to fence religion, while they persevere in their licentious sentiments, and propagate them, wherever they can do it with security.

[c] See an account of his life and writings in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. His poetical genius is justly celebrated by Voltaire, in his Melanges de Literature et de Philosophie.

[d] Bishop Burnet has given a particular account of this last and very affecting scene of the life of this nobleman, in a pam-

In this list we may also place Anthony, earl of Shaftesbury, who died of a consumption at Naples, in the year 1713; not that this illustrious writer attacked openly and professedly the Christian religion, but that the most seducing strokes of wit and raillery, the most enchanting eloquence, and the charms of a genius, in which amenity, elegance, copiousness, and elevation, were happily blended, rendered him one of its most dangerous, though secret enemies; and so much the more dangerous, because his opposition was carried on under a mask. His works have been published in various forms, and have passed through many editions. They are remarkable for beauty of diction, and contain very noble and sublime sentiments; but they ought to be read with the utmost caution, as being extremely dangerous to inexperienced, youthful, and unwary minds [e]. The

phlet written expressly on that subject, and entitled, Some Passages of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Rochester, written, at his desire, on his death-bed, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. containing more amply their Conversations on the great Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion.

[e] His works were first collected and published under the title of Characteristics, in 1711, and, since that time, have passed through many editions. See Le Clerc's account of them in his Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. xxiii. The critical reflexions of the learned and ingenious Leibnitz on the philosophy of lord Shaftesbury were published by Des-Maizeaux, in the second volume of his Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, p. 245.—There are some writers who maintain, that this noble philosopher has been unjustly charged, by the greatest part of the clergy, with a contempt for revealed religion; and it is to be wished, that the arguments they employ to vindicate him from this charge were more satisfactory and solid than they really are. But, if I do not greatly mistake, whoever peruses his writings, and more especially his famous letter concerning enthusiasm, will be inclined to adopt the judgement that was formed of him by the ingenious Dr. Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, in his Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher, vol. i. p. 200.—Nothing is more easy than to observe, in the writings of lord Shaftesbury, a spirit of raillery, mingling itself even with those of his reflexions upon religious subjects that seem to be delivered with the greatest seriousness and gravity. But, at the same time, this unseemly mixture of the solemn and the ludicrous, renders it difficult for those who are not well acquainted with his manner,

CENT. XVII. brutal rusticity and uncouth turn of John Toland, a native of Ireland, who, toward the conclusion of this century, was rendered famous by several injurious

to know whether he is in jest or in earnest. It may also be added, that this author has perniciously endeavoured to destroy the influence and efficacy of some of the great motives that are proposed in the Scriptures to render men virtuous, by representing these motives as mercenary, and even turning them into ridicule. He substitutes, in their place, the intrinsic excellence and beauty of virtue, as the great source of moral obligation, and the true incentive to virtuous deeds. But, however alluring this sublime scheme of morals may appear to certain minds of a refined, elegant, and ingenious turn, it is certainly little adapted to the taste, the comprehension, and the character of the multitude. Take away from the lower orders of mankind the prospects of reward and punishment, that lead them to virtue and obedience, by the powerful suggestions of hope and fear; and the great supports of virtue, and the most effectual motives to the pursuit of it, will, with respect to them, be removed.

☞ Since Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the very learned and judicious Dr. Leland published his View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England during the last and present Century, &c. in which there is a full account of the free-thinkers and deists mentioned by our historian, with a review of the writings of the earl of Shaftesbury. This review merits a particular attention, as it contains an impartial account, an accurate examination, and a satisfactory refutation, of the erroneous principles of that great man. Like all other eminent innovators, the earl has been misrepresented both by his friends and his enemies. Dr. Leland has steered a middle course between the blind enthusiasm of the former, and the partial malignity of the latter. He points out, with singular penetration and judgement, the errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions, of that illustrious author; does justice to what is good in his ingenious writings; separates carefully the wheat from the chaff; and neither approves nor condemns in the lump, as too many have done. In a more particular manner he has shewn, with his usual perspicuity and good sense, that the being influenced by the hope of the reward promised in the Gospel has nothing in it disingenuous and slavish, and is so far from being inconsistent with loving virtue for its own sake, that it tends, on the contrary, to heighten our esteem of its amiableness and worth.— The triumphant manner in which the learned Dr. Warburton has refuted Shaftesbury's representation of raillery and ridicule as a test of truth, is too well known to be mentioned here. See also Dr. Brown's Three Essays on the Characteristics, in which that sensible author treats of ridicule, considered as a test of truth; of the obligations of men to virtue, and of the necessity of religious principle, and of revealed religion and Christianity.

libels against Christianity, must naturally appear doubly disgusting, when compared with the amiable elegance and specious refinement of the author now mentioned. However, as those writers, who flatter the passions by endeavouring to remove all the restraints that religion imposes upon their excessive indulgence, will never want patrons among the licentious part of mankind; so this man, who was not destitute of learning, imposed upon the ignorant and unwary; and, notwithstanding the excess of his arrogance and vanity, and the shocking rudeness and ferocity of his manners, acquired a certain measure of fame[f]. It is not necessary to mention other authors

☞ [f] Dr. Mosheim, in a short note, refers to an account he had given of the Life and Writings of Toland, prefixed to his confutation of the Nazarenus of that contemptible author. He also quotes a life of Toland, prefixed to his posthumous works by Des-Maizeaux.—Dr. Mosheim says, that this man *was not destitute of learning*. Should that be granted, it must, nevertheless, be acknowleged that this learning lay quite undigested in his head, and that the use he made of it, in his works, was equally injudicious and impudent. His conference with M. Beausobre concerning the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, which was holden at Berlin in presence of the queen of Prussia, and in which he made such a despicable figure, is a proof of the former; and his writings, to all but half-scholars and half-thinkers, will be a proof (as long as they endure) of the latter.—It is remarkable that (according to the maxim of Juvenal, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*) Toland arrived only gradually, and by a progressive motion, at the summit of infidelity. His first step was Socinianism, which appeared in his book, entitled, Christianity not Mysterious. This book procured him hard treatment from the Irish parliament, and was answered by Mr. Brown, afterwards bishop of Cork, who, unhappily, did not think good arguments snfficient to maintain a good cause, unless they were seconded by the secular arm, whose ill-placed succours he solicited with ardor. The second step that Toland made in the devious fields of religion, was in the publication of his Amyntor, which, in appearance, was designed to vindicate what he advanced in his Life of Milton, to prove that king Charles I. was not the real author of the *Eikon Basilikè*, but, in reality, was intended to invalidate the Canon of the New Testament, and to render it uncertain and precarious. This piece, as far as it attacked the authenticity of Scripture, was answered in a triumphant manner by Dr. Clarke, in his Reflections on that part of the Book called Amyntor, which relates to the Writings of

CENT. XVII. of this class, who appeared in England, during this century, but are long since consigned to oblivion. The reader may, however, add, to those who have been already named, lord Herbert of Cherbury, a philosopher of some note, who, if he did not absolutely deny the divine origin of the Gospel[g], maintained, at

the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament; by Mr. Richardson, in his learned and judicious Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament; and by Mr. Jones, in his new and full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament. These learned writers have exposed, in the most striking manner, the disingenuity, the blunders, the false quotations, the insidious fictions, and ridiculous mistakes of Toland, who, on various accounts, may pass for one of the most harmless writers against the Christian religion. For an account of the Adeisidæmon, the Nazarenus, the Letters to Serena, the Pantheisticon, and the other irreligious works of this author, and also of the excellent answers that have been made to them, see his Life in the General Dictionary, or rather in Chauffepied's Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary, entitled, Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, as this author has not only translated the articles added to Bayle's Dictionary by the English editors of that work, but has augmented and improved them by several interesting anecdotes drawn from the literary history of the continent.

☞ [g] Lord Herbert did not presume to deny the divinity of the Gospel; he even declared that he had no intention to attack Christianity. He expressly calls it the 'best religion,' and admits that it tends to establish the five great articles of that universal, sufficient, and absolutely perfect religion, which he pretends to deduce from reason and nature. But, notwithstanding these fair professions, his lordship loses no occasion of throwing out insinuations against all revealed religion, as absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use. But this same deist, who was the first, and indeed, the least contemptible of that tribe in England, has left upon record one of the strongest instances of fanaticism and absurdity that perhaps ever were heard of, and of which he himself was guilty. This instance is preserved in a manuscript life of lord Herbert, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, which is now in the possession of a gentleman of distinction*, and is as follows: that lord, having finished his book *de Veritate*, apprehended that he should meet with much opposition, and was, consequently, dubious for some time, whether it would not be prudent to suppress it. "Being thus "doubtful (says his lordship) in my chamber (*at Paris, where he*

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* The translator probably alludes to Horace Walpole, earl of Orford, who afterwards published it. Edit.

least, that it was not essentially necessary to the salvation of mankind[h]; and Charles Blount, who com- CENT. XVII.

" *was ambassador, in* 1624), one fair day in the summer, my " casement being open towards the south, the sun shining clear, " and, no wind stirring, I took my book *de Veritate* in my hands, " and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words: O thou " Eternal God, author of this light that now shines upon me, " and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of " thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a " sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I " shall publish this book; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee " give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it." What does the reader now think of this corner-stone of deism, who demands a supernatural revelation from heaven in favor of a book that was designed to prove all revelation uncertain and useless? But the absurdity does not end here; for our deist not only sought for this revelation, but also obtained it, if we are to believe him. " I had no sooner (says he) spoken these words, " but a loud though yet gentle noise came forth from the " heavens (for it was like nothing on earth), which did so cheer " and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted." Rare credulity this in an unbeliever! but these gentlemen can believe even against reason, when it answers their purpose. His lordship continues, " This, however strange it may seem, I protest " before the Eternal God, is true: neither am I superstitiously " deceived herein," &c. See Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i.

[h] This is sufficiently known to those who have perused lord Herbert's book de Causis Errorum, as also his celebrated work de Religione Gentilium. This author is generally considered as the chief and founder of the sect or society that are called Naturalists from their attachment to natural religion alone. See Arnoldi Historia Eccles. et Hæret. part ii. p. 1083.—The peculiar tenets of this famous deist have been refuted by Musæus and Kortholt, two German divines of eminent learning and abilities.—☞ Gassendi also composed an answer to lord Herbert's book de Veritate. In England it was refuted by Mr. Richard Baxter, in a treatise entitled, More Reasons for the Christian Religion, and no Reason against it. Mr. Locke, in his Essay on the Human Understanding, shews, with great perspicuity and force of evidence, that the five articles of natural religion, proposed by this noble author, are not, as he represents them, common notices, clearly inscribed by the hand of God in the minds of all men, and that a divine revelation is necessary to indicate, develope, and enforce them. Dr. Whitby has also treated the same matter amply in his learned work, entitled, The Necessity and Usefulness of the Christian Revelation, by reason of the Corruptions of the Principles of Natural Religion among the Jews and Heathens.

CENT. XVII. posed a book, entitled the Oracles of Reason, and, in 1693, died by his own hand[i].

Vanini, Ruggieri, Leszynski, Knutzen.

XXIII. Infidelity, and even atheism, shewed themselves also on the continent during this century. In France, Julius Cæsar Vanini, the author of two books, one entitled, the Amphitheatre of Providence[k], and the other, Dialogues concerning Nature[l], was publicly burned at Toulouse, in 1629, as an impious and obstinate atheist. It is nevertheless to be observed, that several learned and respectable writers consider this unhappy man rather as a victim to bigotry and envy, than as a martyr to impiety and atheism; and maintain, that neither his life nor his writings were so absurd or blasphemous as to entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion[m]. But,

[i] See the Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique of Chauffepied, who, however, has omitted the mention of this gentleman's unhappy fate, out of a regard, no doubt, to his illustrious family. ☞ Mr. Chauffepied only translated the article *Charles Blount*, from that of the English continuators of Bayle.

☞ [k] This book was published at Lyons in 1615, was approved by the clergy and magistrates of that city, and contains many things absolutely irreconcileable with atheistical principles: its title is as follows: Amphitheatrum Æternæ Providentiæ, Divino-Magicum Christiano-Physicum Astrologico-Catholicum, adversus Veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, Stoicos, &c. This book has been deemed innocent by several writers, impious by others; but, in our judgement, it would have escaped reproach, had Vanini published none of his other productions, since the impieties it may contain, according to the intention of its author, are carefully concealed. This is by no means the case of the book mentioned in the following note.

☞ [l] This book, concerning the Secrets of Queen Nature, the Goddess of Mortals, was published with this suspicious title at Paris, in 1616, and contains glaring marks of impiety and atheism; and yet it was published with the king's permission, and the approbation of the Faculty of Theology. This scandalous negligence or ignorance is unaccountable in such a reverend body. The Jesuit Garasse pretends that the Faculty was deceived by Vanini, who substituted another treatise in the place of that which had been approved. See a wretched book of Garasse, entitled, Doctrine Curieuse; as also Durand's Vie de Vanini.

[m] See Buddeus's Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione. The author of the Apologia pro Vanino, which appeared in Holland

if Vanini had his apologists, this was by no means the case of Cosmo Ruggieri, a native of Florence, whose atheism was as impudent as it was impious, and who died in the most desperate sentiments of irreligion at Paris, in 1615, declaring, that he looked upon all the accounts that had been given of the existence of a Supreme Being, and of evil spirits, as idle dreams[n]. Casimir Leszynski, a Polish knight, was capitally punished at Warsaw, in 1689, for denying the Being and Providence of God; but whether this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and circumstances of the evidence adduced against him[o]. In Germany, a senseless and frantic man, called Matthew Knutzen, a native of Holstein, attempted to found a new sect, whose members, laying aside all considerations of God and religion, were to follow the dictates of reason and conscience alone, and thence were to assume the title of Conscientiarians. But this wrong-headed sectary was easily obliged to abandon his extravagant undertakings; and thus his idle attempt proved abortive[p].

Benedict Spinosa.

XXIV. The most acute and eminent of the atheists of this century, whose system represented the Supreme Author of all things as a Being bound by the eternal and immutable laws of necessity or fate, was Benedict de Spinosa, a Portuguese Jew. This man, who died at the Hague in 1677, observed in his conduct the rules of wisdom and probity, much better than many who profess themselves Christians; nor did he ever

in 1712, was Peter Frederic Arp, a learned lawyer; and we may also place, among the defenders of Vanini, Elias Frederic Heister, author of the Apologia pro Medicis.

n See Bayle's Dictionary.

o See Arnold's History of the Church.—The famous library of Offenbach formerly contained a complete collection of all the papers relating to the trial of Leszynski, and a full account of the proceedings against him.

p See Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom i. p. 304; and Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbr. part ii. cap. vi. sect. viii.—La Croze, Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire, p. 400.

endeavour to pervert the sentiments or corrupt the morals of those with whom he lived, or to inspire, in his discourse, a contempt of religion or virtue [q]. It is true, indeed, that in his writings, more especially in those which were published after his death, he maintains openly, that God and the universe are one and the same Being, and that all things happen by the eternal and immutable law of *nature*, i. e. of an all-comprehending and infinite Being, that exists and acts by an invincible necessity. This doctrine leads directly to consequences equally impious and absurd; for, if the principle now mentioned be true, each individual is his own God, or, at least, a *part* of the universal Deity, and is, therefore, impeccable and perfect [r]. Be that as it may, it is evident that Spinosa

[q] The Life of Spinosa was accurately written by Colerus, whose performance was published at the Hague in 1706. But a more ample and circumstantial account of this singular man was given by Lenglet du Fresnoy, and prefixed to Boulainvilliers' Exposition of the Doctrine of Spinosa. See Bayle's Dictionary. ☞ Lenglet du Fresnoy republished the work of Colerus, and added to it several anecdotes and circumstances, borrowed from a Life of Spinosa, written by an infamous profligate, whose name was Lucas, and who practised physic at the Hague. See the notes [x] and [y].

[r] The learned Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, and Jenichen, in his Historia Spinosismi Lehnhofiani, have given us an ample list of the writers who have refuted the system of Spinosa. The real opinion which this subtile sophist entertained concerning the Deity, is to be learned in his Ethics, that were published after his death, and not in his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, which was printed during his life. In the latter treatise, he reasons like one who was persuaded that there exists an eternal Deity, distinct from matter and the universe, who has sent upon earth a religion designed to form men to the practice of benevolence and justice, and has confirmed that religion by events of a wonderful and astonishing, though not of a supernatural kind; but in his Ethics he throws off the mask, explains clearly his sentiments, and endeavours to demonstrate, that the Deity is nothing more than the universe, producing a series of necessary movements or acts, in consequence of its own intrinsic, immutable, and irresistible energy. This diversity of sentiment, that appears in the different productions of Spinosa, is a sufficient refutation of those who, forming the estimate of his system from his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus alone, pronounce it less per-

was seduced into this monstrous system by the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a passionate admirer, and which was the perpetual subject of his meditation and study. When he had adopted the general principle (about which philosophers of all sects are agreed) that all realities are possessed by the Deity in the most eminent degree, and had annexed to this principle, as equally evident, the opinion of Des-Cartes, that there are only two realities in nature, thought and extension, one essential to spirit, and the other to matter[s], the natural consequence was, that he should attribute to the Deity both these realities, even thought and extension, in an eminent degree, or, in other words, should represent them as infinite and immense in God. Hence the transition seemed easy to that enormous system, which confounds God with the universe, represents them as one and the same Being, and supposes only one substance whence all things proceed, and into which they all return. It is natural to observe here, that even the friends of Spinosa are obliged to acknowlege, that this

nicious, and its author less impious, than they are generally supposed to be. But, on the other hand, how shall this diversity be accounted for? Are we to suppose that Spinosa proceeded to atheism by gradual steps, or is it more probable, that, during his life, he prudently concealed his real sentiments? Whether the former, or the latter, be the real case, it is not easy to determine. It appears, however, from testimonies, every way worthy of credit, that he never, during his whole life, either made, or attempted to make, converts to irreligion, and never said any thing in public that tended to encourage disrespectful sentiments of the Supreme Being, or of the worship that is due to him. It is well known, on the contrary, that, when subjects of a religious nature were incidentally treated in the course of conversation where he was present, he always expressed himself with the utmost decency on the occasion, and often with an air of piety and seriousness more adapted to edify than to give offence.

☞ [s] The hypothesis of Des-Cartes is not, perhaps, represented with sufficient accuracy and precision, by saying that he looked upon thought as essential to spirit, and extension as essential to matter, since it is well known, that this philosopher considered thought as the very essence or substance of the soul, and extension as the very essence and substance of matter.

CENT. XVII. system is neither attended with that luminous perspicuity, nor with that force of evidence, which are proper to make proselytes. It is too dark, too intricate, to allure men from the belief of those truths relating to the Deity, which the works of nature, and the plainest dictates of reason, are perpetually enforcing upon the human mind. Accordingly, the followers of Spinosa tell us, without hesitation, that it is rather by the suggestions of a certain sense, than by the investigations of reason, that his doctrine is to be comprehended; and that it is of such a nature, as to be easily misunderstood even by persons of the greatest sagacity and penetration[t]. His disciples

[t] There is certainly no man so little acquainted with the character of Bayle, as to think him void of discernment and sagacity; and yet this most subtile metaphysician has been accused by the followers of Spinosa, of misunderstanding and misrepresenting the doctrine of that Pantheist, and consequently of answering it with very little solidity. This charge is brought against Bayle, with peculiar severity, by L. Meyer, in his preface to the posthumous works of Spinosa, in which, after complaining of the misrepresentations that have been given of the opinions of that writer, he pretends to maintain, that his system was, in every point, conformable to the doctrines of Christianity. Boulainvilliers also, another of Spinosa's commentators and advocates, declares, in his preface to a book, whose perfidious title is mentioned below in note [y], that all the antagonists of that famous Jew either ignorantly misunderstood, or maliciously perverted, his true doctrine; his words are: Les refutations de Spinosa m'ont induit à juger, ou que leurs auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une evidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue. If this be true, if the doctrine of Spinosa be not only far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, but also difficult to be understood, and liable to be mistaken and misrepresented by men of the most acute parts and the most eminent abilities, what is the most obvious conclusion deducible from this fact? It is plainly this, that the greatest part of the Spinosists, whose sect is supposed by some to be very numerous in Europe, have adopted the doctrine of that famous atheist, not so much from a conviction of its truth, founded on an examination of its intricate contents, as from the pleasure they take in a system that promises impunity to all transgressions that do not come within the cognisance of the law, and thus lets loose the reins to every irregular appetite and passion; for it would be senseless, in the highest degree, to imagine, that the pretended multitude of the Spinosists, many

assumed the denomination of Pantheists, choosing rather to derive their distinctive title from the nature of their doctrine, than from the name of their master [u]. The most noted members of this strange sect were a physician, whose name was Louis Meyer [w], a person

of whom never once dreamed of exercising their minds in the pursuit of truth, or accustoming them to philosophical discussion, should all accurately comprehend a system, which, according to their own account, has escaped the penetration and sagacity of the greatest geniuses.

[u] Toland, unable to purchase a dinner, composed and published, in order to supply the sharp demands of hunger, an infamous and impious book under the following title: Pantheisticon, sive Formulæ celebrandæ Societatis Socraticæ, in tres Particulas divisæ, quæ Pantheistarum sive Sodalium continent, I. Mores et Axiomata; II. Numen et Philosophiam; III. Libertatem et non fallentem Legem neque fallendam, &c. The design of this book, which was published at London in 1720, appears by the title. It was intended to draw a picture of the licentious morals and principles of his brethren the *Pantheists* under the fictitious description of a Socratical Society, which they are represented as holding in all the places where they are dispersed. In the Socratical, or rather Bacchanalian Society, described in this pernicious work, the president and members are said to converse freely on several subjects. There is also a Form or Liturgy read by the president, who officiates as priest, and is answered by the assembly in suitable responses. He recommends earnestly to the members of the Society the care of truth, liberty, and health; exhorts them to guard against superstition, that is, religion; and reads aloud to them, by way of lesson, certain select passages out of Cicero and Seneca, which seem to favor irreligion. His colleagues promise solemnly to conform themselves to his injunctions and exhortations. Sometimes all the members, animated with enthusiasm and joy, raise their voices together, and sing, out of the ancient Latin poets, certain verses which are suitable to the laws and principles of their sect. See Des-Maizeaux, Life of John Toland, p. 77.—Bibliotheque Angloise, tom. viii. If the pantheistical community be really such as it is here represented, it is not so much the duty of wise and good men to dispute with or refute its members, as it is the business of the civil magistrate to prevent such licentious and turbulent spirits from troubling the order of society, and seducing honest citizens from their religious principles, and the duties of their respective stations.

[w] This Meyer was the person who translated into Latin the pieces that Spinosa had composed in the Dutch language; who assisted him in his last moments, after having attempted in vain to remove his disorder; and who published his Posthumous Works, with a preface, in which, with great impudence and little suc-

CENT. XVII. called Lucas[x], count Boulainvilliers[y], and some others, equally contemptible on account of their sentiments and morals.

cess, he endeavours to prove, that the doctrine of Spinosa differs in nothing from that of the Gospel. Meyer is also the author of a well-known treatise, entitled, Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres, in which the merit and authority of the sacred writings are examined by the dictates of philosophy, that is to say, of the philosophy of Mr. Meyer.

[x] Lucas was a physician at the Hague, and was as famous for what he called his Quintessences, as he was infamous on account of the profligacy of his morals. He left behind him a Life of Spinosa, from which Lenglet du Fresnoy took all the additions that he made to the life of that atheist written by Colerus. He also composed a work which is still handed about, and bought at an extravagant price, by those in whose judgement rarity and impiety are equivalent to merit. This work is entitled, l'Esprit de Spinosa, and surpasses infinitely, in atheistical profaneness, even those productions of Spinosa that are generally looked upon as the most pernicious; so far has this miserable writer lost sight of every dictate of prudence, and triumphed even over the restraints of shame.

[y] This fertile and copious, but paradoxical and inconsiderate writer, is abundantly known by his various productions relating to the history and political state of the French nation, by a certain prolix Fable, entitled, the Life of Mohammed, and by the adverse turns of fortune that pursued him. His character was so made up of inconsistencies and contradictions, that he is almost equally chargeable with superstition and atheism; for, though he acknowleged no other Deity than the universe, or nature, yet he looked upon Mohammed as authorised, by a divine commission, to instruct mankind; and he was of opinion, that the fate of nations, and the destiny of individuals, could be foreknown, by an attentive observation of the stars. Thus the man was, at the same time, an atheist and an astrologer. Now this medley of a man was greatly concerned (in consequence, forsooth, of his ardent zeal for the *public good*) to see the *admirable* doctrine of Spinosa so generally misunderstood, and therefore he formed the *laudable* design of expounding, illustrating, and accommodating it, as is done with respect to the doctrines of the Gospel in books of piety, to ordinary capacities. This design, indeed, he executed, but not so fortunately for his master as he might fondly imagine, since it appeared most evidently from his own account of the system of Spinosa, that Bayle and the other writers who had represented his doctrine as repugnant to the plainest dictates of reason and destructive of all religion, had judged rightly, and were not mis-led by ignorance or by temerity. In short, the book of Boulainvilliers set the atheism and impiety of Spinosa in a much more clear and strik-

CENT. XVII. The sciences cultivated and improved;

XXV. The progressive and flourishing state of the arts and sciences, in the seventeenth century, is abundantly known; and we see the effects, and enjoy the fruits, of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. No branch of literature seemed to be neglected. Logic, philosophy, history, poetry, and rhetoric; in a word, all the sciences that belong to the respective provinces of reason, experience, observation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. While the learned men of this happy period discovered such zeal for the improvement of science, their zeal was both inflamed and directed by one of the greatest and rarest geniuses that ever arose for the instruction of man-

ing light than ever they had appeared before. This infamous book, which was worthy of eternal oblivion, was published by Lenglet du Fresnoy, who, that it might be bought with avidity, and read without reluctance, prefixed to it the attractive but perfidious title of a Refutation of the Errors of Spinosa; adding to it, indeed, some separate pieces, to which this title may, in some measure, be thought applicable. The whole title runs thus: Refutation des Erreurs de Benoit de Spinosa, par M. de Fenelon, Archeveque de Cambray, par le Pere Lami Benedictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, avec la Vie de Spinosa, ecrite par Jean Colerus, Ministre de l'Eglise Lutherienne de la Haye, augmentée de beaucoup de Particularités tirées d'une Vie Manuscrite de ce Philosophe, faite par un de ses Amis (this friend was Lucas, the atheistical physician mentioned in the preceding note,) à Bruxelles, chez François Foppens, 1731. Here we see the poison and the antidote joined, but the latter perfidiously distributed in a manner and measure every way insufficient to remove the noxious effects of the former: in a word, the wolf is shut up with the sheep. The account and defence of the philosophy of Spinosa, given by Boulainvilliers under the insidious title of a Refutation, take up the greatest part of this book, and are placed first and not the last in order, as the title would insinuate. Besides, the whole contents of this motley collection are not enumerated in the title: for at the end of it we find a Latin treatise, entitled Certamen Philosophicum propugnatæ Veritatis divinæ et naturalis, adversus Jo. Bredenburgii Principia, in fine annexa. This *philosophical controversy* contains a Defence of the Doctrine of Spinosa, by Bredenburg, and a Refutation of that Defence by Isaac Orobio, a learned Jewish physician at Amsterdam, and was first published in 1703.

CENT. XVII. kind. This was Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who, toward the commencement of this century, opened the paths that lead to true philosophy in his admirable works[z]. It must be acknowleged, indeed, that the rules he prescribes, to direct the researches of the studious, are not all practicable amidst the numerous prejudices and impediments to which the most zealous inquirers are exposed in the pursuit of truth; and it appears plainly that this great man, to whose elevated and comprehensive genius all things seemed easy, was at certain times so far carried away by the vastness of his conceptions, as to require, from the application and abilities of men, more than they were capable of performing, and to desire the *end*, without always examining whether the *means* of attaining it were possible. At the same time it must be confessed that a great part of the improvements in learning and science, which distinguished Europe during this century, arose from the counsels and directions of this extraordinary man. This is more particularly true of the progress then made in natural philosophy, to which noble science Bacon did such important service, as is alone sufficient to render his name immortal. He opened the eyes of those who had been led blindfold by the dubious authority of traditionary systems, and the uncertain directory of hypothesis and conjecture. He led them to Nature, that they might consult that oracle directly and near at hand, and receive her answers; and, by the introduction of experimental inquiry, he placed philosophy upon a new and solid basis. It was thus undoubtedly that he removed the prejudices of former times, which led men to consider all human knowlege as circum-

[z] More especially in his treatise de Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum, and in his Novum Organum. See the life of that great man, prefixed to his works published in four volumes, in folio, 1740.—Bibliotheque Britannique, tom. xv.—In Mallet's Life of Bacon there is a particular and interesting account of his noble attempt to reform the miserable philosophy that prevailed before his time. See also Voltaire's Melanges de Literature et de Philosophie.

scribed within the bounds of Greek and Latin erudition, and an acquaintance with the more elegant and liberal arts: and thus, in the vast regions of nature, he opened scenes of instruction and science, which, although hitherto unknown or disregarded, were infinitely more noble and sublime, and much more productive of solid nourishment to the minds of the wise, than the learning that was cultivated before his time.

more especially the Mathematics.

XXVI. It is remarkable, in general, that the sciences of natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, were carried in this century, in all the nations of Europe, to such a high degree of perfection, that they seemed suddenly to rise from the puny weakness of infancy to a state of full maturity. There is certainly no sort of comparison between the philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former look like pygmies, when compared with the gigantic stature of the latter. At the head of the latter appears Galileo, the ornament of natural science in Italy, who was encouraged, in his astronomical researches and discoveries, by the munificence and protection of the grand dukes of Tuscany [a]. In France appeared Des-Cartes and Gassendi, who left behind them a great number of eminent disciples; in Denmark Tycho Brahe; in England Boyle and Newton; in Germany Kepler, Hevelius, and Leibnitz; and in Switzerland the brothers, James and John Bernoulli. These philosophers of the first magnitude, if I may use that expression, excited such a spirit of emulation in Europe, and were followed by such a multitude of admirers and rivals, that, if we except those countries which had not yet emerged from a state of ignorance and barbarism, there was scarcely any nation that could not boast of possessing a profound mathematician, a famous astronomer, or an eminent philoso-

[a] See Heuman's Acta Philosophorum, the xivth, xvth, and xviith parts.

CENT. XVII. pher. Nor were the dukes of Tuscany, however distinguished by their hereditary zeal for the sciences, and their liberality to the learned, the only patrons of philosophy at this time, since it is well known that the monarchs of Great-Britain and France, Charles II. and Louis XIV., honored the sciences, and those who cultivated them, with their protection and encouragement. It is to the munificence of those two princes that the Royal Society of London, and the Academy of Sciences at Paris, owe their origin and establishment, their privileges, honors and endowments, and that we, in consequence, are indebted for the interesting discoveries that have been made by these two learned bodies, the end of whose institution is the study and investigation of nature, and the culture of all those arts and sciences which lead to truth, and are useful to mankind [b]. These establishments, and the inquiries they were so naturally adapted to encourage and promote, proved not only beneficial, in the highest degree, to the civil interests of mankind, but were also productive of inestimable advantages to the cause of true religion. By these inquiries, the empire of superstition, which is always the bane of genuine piety, and often a source of rebellion and calamity in sovereign states, was greatly shaken; by them the fictitious prodigies, that had so long kept miserable mortals in a painful state of servitude and terror, were deprived of their influence; by them natural religion was built upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence; as by them the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and

[b] The history of the Royal Society of London, was published by Dr. Sprat, in the year 1722 *. Fontenelle composed the History of the Academy of Sciences at Paris. The reader will find a comparison between these learned bodies in Voltaire's Melanges de Literature et de Philosophie.

☞ * A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable society was afterwards composed, and published by Dr. Birch, its learned secretary.

force from the frame of the universe in general, and also from the structure of its various parts.

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History.

XXVII. The improvements made in history, and more especially the new degrees of light that were thrown upon the ancient history of the church, were of eminent service to the cause of genuine Christianity; for thus the original sources and reasons of many absurd opinions and institutions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, were discovered and exposed in their proper colors; and innumerable errors that had possessed and perplexed the anxious spirits of the credulous and superstitious multitude, were happily deprived of their authority and influence. Thus, in consequence, the cheerful light of truth, and the calm repose and tranquillity that attend it, arose upon the minds of many; and human life was delivered from the crimes that have been sanctified by superstition, and from the tumults and agitations in which it has so often involved unhappy mortals. The advantages that flowed from the improvement of historical knowlege were both innumerable and inestimable. By this many pious and excellent persons, whom ignorance or malice had stigmatised as heretics, were delivered from reproach, recovered their good fame, and thus were secured against the malignity of superstition. By this it appeared, that many of those religious controversies, which had divided nations, friends, and families, and involved so often sovereign states in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes of the most horrid kind, were owing to the most trifling and contemptible causes, to the ambiguity and obscurity of certain theological phrases and terms, to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to spiritual pride and ambition. By this it was demonstrated with the fullest evidence, that many of those religious ceremonies, which had been long considered as of divine institution, were derived from the most inglorious sources, being either borrowed from the manners and customs of barbarous nations, or invented with a design to deceive the ignorant

and credulous, or dictated by the idle visions of senseless enthusiasm. By this the ambitious intrigues of the bishops and other ministers of religion, who, by perfidious arts, had encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, usurped a considerable part of its authority and revenues, and held princes in subjection to their yoke by the terrors of the church, were brought to light. And to mention no more instances, it was by the lamp of history that those councils, whose decrees had so long been regarded as infallible and sacred, and revered as the dictates of celestial wisdom, were exhibited to the attentive observer as assemblies, where an odious mixture of ignorance and knavery very frequently presided. Our happy experience, in these later times, furnishes daily instances of the salutary effects of these important discoveries on the state of the Christian church, and on the condition of all its members. Hence flow that lenity and moderation which are mutually exercised by those who differ in their religious sentiments; the prudence and caution that are used in estimating opinions and deciding controversies; the protection and support that are granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry; and the visible diminution of the errors, frauds, crimes, and cruelties, with which superstition formerly embittered the pleasures of human life, and the enjoyments of social intercourse.

The study of eloquence, and the languages.

XXVIII. Many of the doctors of this century applied themselves, with eminent success, to the study of Hebrew and Greek literature, and of the oriental languages and antiquities; and, as their progress in this kind of erudition was rapid, so, in many instances, was the use they made of it truly excellent and laudable; for they were thus enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings that had been ill understood and injudiciously applied, and which some had even employed in supporting erroneous opinions, and giving a plausible color to pernicious doctrines. Hence it happened,

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that many patrons and promoters of popular notions, and of visionary and groundless fancies, were deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. It cannot also be denied, that the cause of religion received considerable benefit from the labors of those, who either endeavoured to preserve the purity and elegance of the Latin language, or who, beholding with emulation the example of the French, employed their industry in improving and polishing the languages of their respective countries; for it must be evidently both honorable and advantageous to the Christian church to have always in its bosom men of learning qualified to write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity, that so the ignorant and perverse may be allured to receive instruction, and also be able to comprehend with facility the instructions they receive.

The law of nature is studied with attention.

XXIX. The rules of morality and practice, which were laid down in the sacred writings by Christ and his apostles, assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported upon new and solid principles, when that great system of law, which results from the constitution of nature and the dictates of right reason, began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of the law of nature the immortal Grotius led the way in his excellent book concerning the Rights of War and Peace: and, from the dignity and importance of the subject, his labors excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities[c], who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labors of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the Gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of

[c] See Adam. Fred. Glafey's Historia Juris Naturæ; to which is subjoined his Bibliotheca Juris Naturæ et Gentium.

CENT. XVII. Christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind, published since the period now under consideration, with those which were in vogue before that time. [☞ There is scarcely a discourse upon any subject of Christian morality, how inconsiderable soever it may be, that does not bear some marks of the improvement which was introduced into the science of morals by those great men, who studied that science in the paths of nature, in the frame and constitution of rational and moral beings, and in the relations by which they are rendered members of one great family, under the inspection and government of one common and universal[d] Parent.] It is unquestionably certain, that since this period the dictates of natural law, and the duties of Christian morality, have been more accurately defined; certain evangelical precepts, whose nature and foundations were imperfectly comprehended in the times of old, have been more clearly illustrated; the superiority which distinguishes the morality of the Gospel from the course of duty that is deducible from the mere light of nature, has been more fully demonstrated; and those common notions and general principles, which are the foundations of moral obligation, and are every way adapted to dispel all doubts that may arise, and all controversies that may be started, concerning the nature of evangelical righteousness and virtue, have been established with greater evidence and certainty. It may also be added, that the impiety of those infidels who have had the effrontery to maintain that the precepts of the Gospel are contrary to the dictates of sound reason, repugnant to the constitution of our nature, inconsistent with the interests of civil society, adapted to enervate the mind, and to draw men off from the business, the duties, and enjoyments of life[e], has been much more triumphantly refuted in the seven-

[d] This sentence, beginning with '*There is scarcely a discourse*,' and ending with '*Universal Parent*,' is added by the translator.
[e] Le Contrat Social, par Rousseau.

teenth and eighteenth centuries, than in any other period of the Christian church.

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The state of the Aristotelian and Paracelsian philosophy.

XXX. To these reflexions upon the state of learning and science in general, it may not be improper to add a particular and separate account of the progress and revolutions of philosophy in the Christian schools. At the beginning of this century almost all the European philosophers were divided into two classes, one of which comprehended the *Peripatetics*, and the other the *Chemists*, or *Fire-Philosophers*, as they were often styled. These two classes, during many years, contended warmly for the pre-eminence; and a great number of labored and subtile productions were published amidst this philosophical contest. The Peripatetics were in possession of the professorships in almost all the schools of learning, and looked upon all such as presumed, either to reject, or even amend the doctrines of Aristotle, as objects of indignation, little less criminal than traitors and rebels. It is, however, observable, that the greatest part of these supercilious and persecuting doctors, if we except those of the universities of Tubingen, Altorf, Juliers, and Leipsic, were less attached to Aristotle himself than to his modern interpreters and commentators. The Chemists spread themselves through almost all Europe, and assumed the obscure and ambiguous title of *Rosecrucian Brethren* [f], which drew at first some degree of

[f] The title of *Rosecrucians* evidently denotes the chemical philosophers, and those who blended the doctrines of religion with the secrets of chemistry. The denomination itself is drawn from the science of chemistry; and they only who are acquainted with the peculiar language of the chemists can understand its true signification and energy. It is not compounded, as many imagine, of the two words *rosa* and *crux*, which signify *rose* and *cross*, but of the latter of these words, and the Latin word *ros*, which signifies *dew*. Of all natural bodies, *dew* is the most powerful dissolvent of gold. The *cross*, in the chemical style, is equivalent to *light*; because the figure of the cross (+) exhibits, at the same time, the three letters of which the word *lux*, i. e. *light*, is compounded. Now *lux* is called by this sect the seed or menstruum of the red dragon; or, in other words, that

CENT. XVII. respect, as it seemed to be borrowed from the arms of Luther, which were a *cross* placed upon a *rose*. They inveighed against the Peripatetics with a singular degree of bitterness and animosity, represented them as corruptors both of religion and philosophy, and published a multitude of treatises against them, which discovered little else than their folly and their malice. At the head of these fanatics were Robert Fludd [g], a native of England, and a man of surprising genius; Jacob Behmen, a shoemaker, who lived at Gorlitz; and Michael Mayer [h]. These leaders of the sect were followed by John Baptist Helmont, and his son Francis, Christian Knorrius de Rosenroth, Kuhlman, Nollius, Sperber, and many others of various fame. An uniformity of opinion,

gross and corporeal light, which, when properly digested and modified, produces gold. From all this it follows, that a Rosecrucian philosopher is one who, by the intervention and assistance of the dew, seeks for light, or, in other words, the substance called the Philosopher's Stone. All other explications of this term are false and chimerical. The interpretations that are given of it by the chemists, who love, on all occasions, to involve themselves in intricacy and darkness, are invented merely to deceive those who are strangers to their mysteries. The true energy and meaning of this denomination of Rosecrucians did not escape the penetration and sagacity of Gassendi, as appears by his Examen Philosophiæ Fluddanæ, sect. xv. It was, however, still more fully explained by Renaudot, a famous French physician, in his Conferences Publiques, tom. iv. A great number of materials and anecdotes relating to the fraternity, rules, observances and writings, of the Rosecrucians (who made such a noise in this century), may be found in Arnold's Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie, part ii. p. 1114.

[g] See, for an account of this singular man, from whose writings Jacob Behmen derived all his mystical and rapturous doctrine, Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 610, and Histor. et Antiq. Academiæ Oxoniensis, lib. ii. p. 308.—For an account of Helmont, the father, see Hen. Witte, Memor. Philosoph.—Consult also Joach. Fred. Feller, in Miscellan. Leibnitian.—Several writers beside Arnold have given an account of Jacob Behmen *.

[h] See Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. i. p. 376.

* See, for a farther account of Jacob Behmen, sect. ii. part ii. chap. i. sect. xl. of this century.

and a spirit of concord, seem scarcely possible in such a society as this; for, as a great part of its doctrine is derived from certain internal feelings and flights of imagination, which can neither be comprehended nor defined, and is supported by testimonies of the external senses, whose reports are illusory and changeable, so it is remarkable, that, among the more eminent writers of this sect, there are scarcely any two who adopt the same tenets and sentiments. There are, nevertheless, some common principles that are generally embraced, and which serve as a centre of union to the society. They all maintain, that the dissolution of bodies, by the power of fire, is the only way through which men can arrive at true wisdom, and come to discern the first principles of things. They all acknowlege a certain analogy and harmony between the powers of nature and the doctrines of religion, and believe that the Deity governs the kingdom of grace by the same laws with which he rules the kingdom of nature; and hence it is that they employ chemical denominations to express the truths of religion. They all hold, that there is a sort of divine energy, or soul, diffused through the frame of the universe, which some call Archæus, others the Universal Spirit, and which others mention under different appellations. They all talk in the most obscure and superstitious manner of what they call the signatures of things, of the power of the stars over all corporeal beings, and their particular influence upon the human race, of the efficacy of magic, and the various species and classes of demons. In fine, they all agree in throwing out the most crude and incomprehensible notions and ideas, in the most obscure, quaint, and unusual expressions.

The Philosophy of Gassendi.

XXXI. This controversy, between the Chemists and Peripatetics, was buried in silence and oblivion, as soon as a new and more seemly form of philosophy was presented to the world by two great men, who reflected a lustre upon the French nation,—Gassendi and Des-Cartes. The former, whose profound know-

lege of geometry and astronomy was accompanied with the most engaging eloquence, and an acquaintance with the various branches of solid erudition and polite literature, was canon of Digne, and professor of mathematics at Paris. The latter, who was a man of quality and bred a soldier, surpassed the greatest part of his contemporaries in acuteness, subtilty, and extent of genius, though he was much inferior to Gassendi in point of learning. In 1624, Gassendi attacked Aristotle, and the whole body of his commentators and followers, with great resolution and ingenuity[i]; but the resentment and indignation which he drew upon himself from all quarters by this bold attempt, and the sweetness of his natural temper, which made him an enemy to dissension and contest, engaged him to desist, and to suspend an enterprise, that, by opposing the prejudices, was so adapted to inflame the passions of the learned. Hence no more than two books of the work he had composed against the Aristotelians were made public; the other five were suppressed[j]. He also wrote against Fludd, and, by refuting him, refuted at the same time the Rosecrucian Brethren; and here the Aristotelians seemed to behold his labors with a favorable eye. After having overturned several false and visionary systems of philosophy, he began to think of substituting something more solid and satisfactory in their place, and in pursuance of this design he proceeded with the utmost circumspection and caution. He recommended to others, and followed himself, that wise method of philosophical investigation, which, with a slow and timorous pace, rises from the objects of sense to the discussions of reason, and arrives at truth by assiduity, experiment, and an

☞ [i] The title of his book against the Aristotelians is as follows: Exercitationum paradoxicarum adversus Aristoteleos Libri VII. in quibus præcipua totius Peripateticæ Doctrinæ Fundamenta excutiuntur, Opiniones vero, ut ex vetustioribus obsoletæ, stabiliuntur.

[j] See Bougerelle's Vie de Gassendi.

attentive observation of the laws of nature; or, to express the same thing in other words, he struck out that judicious method, which, by an attention to facts, to the changes and motions of the natural world, leads by degrees to general principles, and lays a solid foundation for rational inquiry. In the application of this method, he had recourse chiefly to mathematical succours, from a persuasion that demonstration and certainty were the peculiar fruits of that accurate and luminous science. He drew no assistance from metaphysics, which he overlooked from an opinion that the greatest part of its rules and decisions were too precarious to satisfy a sincere inquirer, animated with the love of truth [k].

The Cartesian philosophy.

XXXII. Des-Cartes followed a very different method in his philosophical researches. He abandoned mathematics, which he had at first looked upon as the tree of knowlege, and employed the science of abstract ideas, or metaphysics, in the investigation of truth. Having accordingly laid down a few plain and general principles, which seemed to be deduced immediately from the nature of man, his next business was to form distinct notions of the Deity, of matter, soul, body, space, the universe, and the various parts of which it is composed. From these notions, examined with attention, compared and combined according to their mutual relations, connexions, and resemblances, and reduced into a kind of system, he proceeded still farther, and made admirable use of them in reforming the other branches of philosophy, and giving them a new degree of stability and consistence. This he effected by connecting all his branches of philosophical reasoning in such a manner, that principles and consequences were placed in the

[k] See Gassendi's Institutiones Philosophiæ; a diffuse production, which takes up the two first volumes of his works, and in which his principal design is to shew, that those opinions, both of the ancient and modern philosophers, which are deduced from metaphysical principles, have little solidity, and are generally defective in point of evidence and perspicuity.

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most accurate order, and the latter seemed to flow from the former in the most natural manner. This method of pursuing truth could not fail to attract the admiration of many: and so indeed it happened; for no sooner had Des-Cartes published his discoveries in philosophy, than a considerable number of eminent men, in different parts of Europe, who had long entertained a high disgust to the inelegant and ambiguous jargon of the schools, adopted these discoveries with zeal, declared their approbation of the new system, and expressed their desire that its author should be substituted in the place of the Peripatetics, as a philosophical guide to the youth in the public seminaries of learning. On the other hand, the Peripatetics, or Aristotelians, seconded by the influence of the clergy, who apprehended that the cause of religion was aimed at, and endangered by these philosophical innovations, made a prodigious noise, and left no means unemployed to prevent the downfall of their old system, and diminish the growing reputation of the new philosophy. To execute this invidious purpose with the greater facility, they not only accused Des-Cartes of the most dangerous and pernicious errors, but went so far, in the extravagance of their malignity, as to bring a charge of atheism against him. This furious zeal of the Aristotelians will not appear so extraordinary, when it is considered, that they contended, not so much for their philosophical system, as for the honors, advantages, and profits they derived from it. The Theosophists, Rosecrucians, and Chemists, entered into this contest against Des-Cartes, but conducted themselves with greater moderation than the Aristotelians, notwithstanding their persuasion that the Peripatetic philosophy, though chimerical and impious, was much less intolerable than the Cartesian system[1]. The consequences of this dispute were favorable to the

[1] See Baillet's Vie de René Des-Cartes, and also the General Dictionary.

progress of science; for the wiser part of the European philosophers, although they did not adopt the sentiments of Des-Cartes, were encouraged and animated by his example to carry on their inquiries with more freedom from the restraints of traditional and personal authority than they had formerly done, and to throw resolutely from their necks that yoke of servitude, under which Aristotle and his followers had so long kept them in subjection.

Gassendi the chief adversary of Des-Cartes.

XXXIII. The most eminent contemporaries of Des-Cartes applauded, in general, the efforts he made toward the reformation of philosophy, and that noble resolution with which he broke the shackles of magisterial authority, and struck out new paths, in which he proceeded without a guide, in the search after truth. They also approved his method of rising, with caution and accuracy, from the most simple, and, as it were, the primary dictates of reason and nature, to truths and propositions of a more complex and intricate kind, and of admitting nothing as truth, that was not clearly and distinctly apprehended as such. They went still farther, and unanimously acknowleged, that he had made most valuable and important discoveries in philosophy, and had demonstrated several truths, which, before his time, were received upon no other evidence than that of tradition and conjecture. But these acknowlegements did not prevent some of those who made them with the greatest sincerity, from finding several essential defects in the philosophy of this great man. They considered his account of the causes and principles of natural things, as for the most part hypothetical, and founded on fancy, rather than experience. They even attacked the fundamental principles upon which the whole system of his philosophy was built, such as his ideas of the Deity, of the universe, of matter and spirit, of the laws of motion, and other points that were connected with these. Some of these principles they pronounced uncertain; others, they said, were of a pernicious tendency, and likely to

CENT. XVII. engender the most dangerous errors; and they affirmed, that some were directly contrary to the language of experience. At the head of these objectors appeared his fellow-citizen, Gassendi, who had made war before him upon the Aristotelians and Chemists; who, in genius, was his equal; in learning, greatly his superior; and whose mathematical knowlege was most uncommon and extensive. This formidable adversary directed his first attacks against the metaphysical principles which supported the whole structure of the Cartesian philosophy. He then proceeded still farther; and, for the physical system of Des-Cartes, substituted one that resembled not a little the natural philosophy of Epicurus, though far superior to it in solidity, much more rational, consistent, and perfect, being founded, not on the illusory visions of fancy, but on the testimony of sense and the dictates of experience[m]. This new and sagacious observer of nature had not many followers, and his disciples were much less numerous than those of Des-Cartes. But what he wanted in number, was sufficiently compensated by the merit and reputation of those who adopted his philosophical system; for he was followed by some of the most eminent men in Europe, by persons who were distinguished in the highest degree by their indefatigable application, and their extensive knowlege both of natural philosophy and mathematics. He had certainly few disciples in his own country; but, among

[m] See his Disquisitio Metaphysica, seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ adversus Cartesii Metaphysicam, et Responsa, in the third volume of his works.—Bernier, a celebrated French physician, has given an accurate view of the philosophy of Gassendi in his abridgement of it, published at Lyons, in 1684. This abridgement will give the reader a better account of this philosophy than even the works of Gassendi himself, in which his meaning is often expressed in an ambiguous manner, and which are, besides, loaded with superfluous erudition. The Life of Gassendi, accurately written by Bougerelle, a priest of the oratory, was published in 1737.—See Biblioth. Françoise, tom. xxvii. p. 353.

the English, who in his time were remarkable for their application to studies of a physical and mathematical kind, a considerable number adopted his philosophical system. It may here be observed, that even those eminent philosophers and divines, such as Whichcot, Gale, Cudworth, and More, who entered the lists with Hobbes (whose doctrine came nearer to the principles of Gassendi than to the system of Des-Cartes), and revived ancient Platonism, in order to crush under its weight the philosopher of Malmesbury, placed Gassendi and Plato in the same class, and explained the sentiments of the latter in such a manner as to make them appear quite agreeable to the principles of the former [n].

Two leading philosophical sects, viz. the Mathematical and Metaphysical.

XXXIV. From this period must be dated the famous schism that divided the philosophical world into two great sects, which, though they almost agree upon those points that are of the greatest utility and importance in human life, differ widely about the principles of human knowlege, and the fundamental points whence the philosopher must proceed in his search of truth. Of these sects, one may properly be called *Metaphysical,* and the other *Mathematical.* The metaphysical sect follows the system of Des-Cartes; the mathematical one directs its researches by the principles of Gassendi. Philosophers of the former class look upon truth as attainable by abstract reasoning; those of the latter seek it by observation and experience. The follower of Des-Cartes attributes little to the external senses, and much to meditation and discussion. The disciple of Gassendi, on the contrary, places little confidence in metaphysical discussion, and principally has recourse to the reports of sense and the contemplation of nature. The Cartesian, from a small number of abstract truths, deduces a long series of propositions,

[n] See the preface to the Latin translation of Cudworth's Intellectual System; and also the *remarks* added to that translation. ☞ Dr. Mosheim is the author of that *translation* and of those *remarks.*

in order to arrive at a precise and accurate knowlege of God and nature, of body and spirit; the Gassendian admits these metaphysical truths, but at the same time denies the possibility of erecting, upon their basis, a regular and solid system of philosophy, without the aid of assiduous observation and repeated experiments, which are the most natural and effectual means of philosophical progress and improvement. The one, eagle-like, soars with an intrepid flight to the first fountain of truth, and to the general relations and final causes of things; and thence descending, explains, by them, the various changes and appearances of nature, the attributes and counsels of the Deity, the moral constitution and duties of man, the frame and structure of the universe. The other, more difficult and cautious, observes with attention, and examines with assiduity, the objects that are before his eyes; and rises gradually from them to the first cause, and the primordial principle of things. The Cartesians suppose, that many things are known by man with the utmost certainty; and hence arises their propensity to form their opinions and doctrines into a regular system. The followers of Gassendi consider man as in a state of ignorance with respect to an immense number of points, and, consequently, think it incumbent upon them to suspend their judgement in a multitude of cases, until time and experience dispel their darkness; and hence it is also, that they consider a *system* as an attempt of too adventurous a nature, and by no means proportioned to the narrow extent of human knowlege; or, at least, they think, that the business of system-making ought to be left to the philosophers of future times, who, by joining the observations and experience of many ages, may acquire a more satisfactory and accurate knowlege of nature than has been yet attained.

These dissensions and contests concerning the first principles of human knowlege, produced various debates upon other subjects of the utmost moment and importance; such as, the nature of God, the

essence of matter, the elements or constituent principles of bodies, the laws of motion, the manner in which the Divine Providence exerts itself in the government of the world, the frame and structure of the universe, the nature, union, and joint operations of soul and body. If we consider attentively the profound and intricate nature of these subjects, together with the limits, debility, and imperfections of the human understanding, we shall see too much reason to fear, that these contests will last as long as the present state of man [o]. The wise and the good, sensible of this, will carry on such debates with a spirit of mildness and mutual forbearance; and, knowing that differences in opinions are inevitable where truth is so difficult of access, will guard against that temerity with which too many disputants accuse their antagonists of irreligion and impiety [p].

[o] Voltaire published, in 1740, at Amsterdam, a pamphlet, entitled, La Metaphysique de Newton, ou Parallele des Sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz, which, though superficial and inaccurate, may be useful to those readers who have not application enough to draw from better sources, and are desirous of knowing how much these two philosophical sects differ in their principles and tenets.

[p] It is abundantly known that Des-Cartes and his metaphysical followers were accused by many of striking at the foundations of all religion; nor is this accusation entirely withdrawn even in our times. See, in the miscellaneous works of Father Hardouin, his Atheists Unmasked. Among these pretended atheists, Des-Cartes, and his two famous disciples (Antoine Le-Grand and Sylvain Regis) hold the first rank; nor is Father Malebranche, though he seems rather chargeable with fanaticism than atheism, exempted from a place in this odious list. It is true that Hardouin, who gives so liberally a place in the atheistical class to these great men, was himself a visionary dreamer, whose judgement, in many cases, is little to be respected; but it is also true, that, in the work now under consideration, he does not reason from his own whimsical notions, but draws all his arguments from those followers of Aristotle and Gassendi, who have opposed, with the greatest success and acuteness, the Cartesian system. Even Voltaire, notwithstanding the moderation with which he expresses himself,seems plainly enough to give his assent to the accusers of Des-Cartes. On the other hand, it must be observed, that these accusers are censured in their turns by several modern metaphysicians. Gassendi, for

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The Metaphysical or Cartesian philosophy improved and propagated with success.

XXXV. Those who had either adopted, without exception, the principles of Des-Cartes, or who, without going so far, approved the method and rules laid down by him for the investigation of truth, employed all their zeal and industry in correcting, amending, confirming, and illustrating, the metaphysical species of philosophy; and its votaries were exceedingly numerous, particularly in France and in the United Provinces. But among the members of this philosophical sect there were some who aimed at the destruction of all religion, more especially Spinosa, and others, who, like Balthasar Becker[q], made use of the principles of Des-Cartes, to overturn some doctrines of Christianity, and to pervert others. This circumstance proved disadvantageous to the whole sect, and brought it into disrepute in many places. The metaphysical philosophy fell, however, afterwards into better hands, and was treated with great wisdom and acuteness by Malebranche, a man of uncommon eloquence and subtilty; and by Leibnitz, whose name is consigned to immortality as one of the greatest geniuses that ever appeared in the world[r]. Neither

example, is charged by Arnauld with overturning the doctrine of the soul's immortality in his controversy with Des-Cartes, and by Leibnitz with corrupting and destroying the whole system of natural religion: see Des-Maizeaux, Recueil de diverses pieces sur la Philosophie, tom. ii.* Leibnitz has also ventured to affirm, that Sir Isaac Newton and his followers rob the Deity of some of his most excellent attributes, and sap the foundations of natural religion. In short, the controversial writings on both sides are filled with rash and indecorous reproaches of this kind.

☞ q See, for a farther account of the particular tenets and opinions of Becker, sect. ii. part ii. chap. ii. sect. xxxv. of this century.

r For an ample and interesting account of Malebranche and his philosophy, see Fontenelle's Eloges des Academiciens, tom. i. p. 317, and, for a view of the errors and defects of his meta-

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☞ * It appears, on reference, that the censure is not conveyed in such strong terms as those employed by our historian; Leibnitz merely says, that Gassendi appeared to hesitate and waver too much concerning the nature of the soul, and the principles of natural religion.

of these great men, indeed, adopted all the principles and doctrines of Des-Cartes; but both of them approved, upon the whole, his philosophical method, which they enlarged, amended, and improved, by several additions and corrections, that rendered its procedure more luminous and sure. This is more especially true of Leibnitz, who, rejecting the suggestions of fancy, seemed to follow no other guides than reason and judgement; for Malebranche, having received from nature a warm and exuberant imagination, was too much ruled by its dictates, and was thus often imperceptibly led into the visionary regions of enthusiasm.

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The progress of the Mathematical sect.

XXXVI. The mathematical philosophy already mentioned, was much less studied and adopted than the metaphysical system, and its followers in France were very few in number. But it met with a favorable reception in Great Britain, whose philosophers perceiving, in its infant and unfinished features, the immortal lines of Verulam's wisdom, snatched it from its cradle, in a soil where it was ready to perish, cherished it with parental tenderness, and have still continued their zealous efforts to bring it to maturity and perfection. The Royal Society of London, which may be considered as the philosophical seminary of the nation, took it under their protection, and have neither spared expence nor pains to cultivate and improve it, and to render it subservient to the purposes of life. It owed, more especially, a great part of its progress and improvement to the countenance, industry, and genius, of that immortal protector of science, the pious and venerable Robert Boyle, whose memory will be ever precious to the worthy and the

physical system, see Hardouin's Atheists Unmasked, in his Œuvres Melées, p. 43. Fontenelle has also given an account of the life and philosophical sentiments of Leibnitz in the work already quoted, vol. ii.; but a much more ample one has been published in German by Charles Gunther Ludewig, in his history of the Leibnitian Philosophy. However, the genius and philosophy of this great man are best to be learned from his letters, published by Kortholt.

wise, the friends of religion, learning, and mankind. The illustrious names of Barrow, Wallis, and Locke, may also be added to the list of those who contributed to the progress of natural knowlege. Nor were the learned divines of the British nation (though that order has often excited the complaints of philosophers, and been supposed to behold, with a jealous and suspicious eye, the efforts of philosophy as dangerous to the cause of religion) less zealous than the other patrons of science in this noble cause. On the contrary, they looked upon the improvement of natural knowlege not only as innocent, but as of the highest utility and importance; as admirably adapted to excite and maintain in the minds of men a profound veneration for the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world, and to furnish new supports to the cause of religion; and also as agreeable both to the laws and the spirit of the Gospel, and to the sentiments of the primitive church. And hence it was that those doctors, who, in the lectures founded by Mr. Boyle, attacked the enemies of religion, employed in this noble and pious attempt the succours of philosophy with the most happy and triumphant success. But the immortal man, to whose immense genius and indefatigable industry philosophy owed its greatest improvements, and who carried the lamp of knowlege into paths of nature that had been unexplored before his time, was Sir Isaac Newton [s], whose name was

☞ [s] Mr. Hume's account of this great man is extremely just, and contains some peculiar strokes that do honor to this elegant painter of minds. "In Newton (*says he*) this island "may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius "that ever arose for the ornament and instruction of the species. "Cautious in admitting no principles, but such as were founded "in experiment; but resolute to adopt every such principle, "however new and unusual; from modesty, ignorant of his "superiority above the rest of mankind, and thence less careful "to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions; "more anxious to merit, than acquire fame; he was, from these "causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation, at "last, broke out with a lustre, which scarcely any writer, "during his own life-time, had ever before attained. While

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revered, and whose genius was admired, even by his warmest adversaries. This great man spent, with uninterrupted assiduity, the whole of a long life in correcting, digesting, and enlarging, the new philosophy, and in throwing upon it the light of demonstration and evidence, both by observing the laws of nature, and by subjecting them to the rules of calculation; and thus he introduced a great change into natural science, and brought it to a very high degree of perfection[t]. The English look upon it as an unquestionable proof of the solidity and excellence of the Newtonian philosophy, that its most eminent votaries were friends to religion, and have transmitted to posterity shining examples of piety and virtue; while, on the contrary, the Cartesian or metaphysical system has exhibited, in its followers, many flagrant instances of irreligion, and some demonstrations of the most horrid impiety.

Of the Philosophers who adopt neither of these systems.

XXXVII. The two famous philosophical sects now mentioned, deprived, indeed, all the ancient systems of natural science, both of their credit and their disciples; and hence it might have been expected that they would have totally engrossed and divided between them the suffrages of the learned. But this was not the case; the liberty of thinking being restored by Des-Cartes and Newton, who broke the fetters of prejudice, in which philosophical superstition had confined, in former times, the human

" Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries " of nature, he shewed, at the same time, the imperfections of " the mechanical philosophy; and thereby restored her ultimate " secrets to that obscurity, in which they ever did and ever will " remain."

t The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, as also the other writings, whether philosophical, mathematical, or theological, of this great man, are abundantly known. There is an elegant account of his life, and literary and philosophical merit, given by Fontenelle, in his Eloge des Academiciens, tom. ii. p. 293.—See also the Biblioth. Angloise, tom. xv. par. ii. p. 545, and Biblioth. Raisonnée, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 478. ☞ See more especially the late learned and ingenious Mr. Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries.

CENT. XVII. understanding, a variety of sects sprang up. Some trusting to their superior genius and sagacity, and others, more remarkable for the exuberance of their fancy than for the solidity of their judgement, pretended to strike out new paths in the unknown regions of nature, and new methods of investigating truth; but of their disciples the number was small, and the duration of their inventions transitory; and therefore it is sufficient to have barely mentioned them. There appeared also another sort of men, whom mediocrity of genius, or an indolent turn of mind, indisposed for investigating truth by the exertion of their own talents and powers, and who, terrified at the view of such an arduous task, contented themselves with borrowing from the different sects such of their respective tenets as seemed to them most remarkable for their perspicuity and solidity, more especially those concerning which all the different sects were agreed. These they compiled and digested into a system, and pushed their inquiries no farther. The philosophers of this class are generally termed *Eclectics.* From these remarkable differences of sentiment and system that reigned among the jarring sects, some persons, otherwise distinguished by their acuteness and sagacity, took occasion to represent truth as unattainable by such a short-sighted being as man, and to revive the desperate and uncomfortable *doctrine* (shall I call it, or *jargon*) of the Sceptics, that had long been buried in the silence and oblivion which it deserved. The most eminent of these cloudy philosophers were Sanchez, a physician of Toulouse [u], de la Mothe le Vayer [w], Huet, bishop of Avranches [x],

[u] There is still extant a famous book of this writer, entitled, *de eo quod nihil scitur*, which, with the rest of his works and an account of his life, appeared at Toulouse in 1636. See Bayle's Dictionary, and Villemandi Scepticismus debellatus, cap. iv.

[w] See Bayle's Dictionary for an account of this author.

[x] Huet's book concerning the Weakness of Human Reason was published after his death, in French, at Amsterdam, in 1723, and lately in Latin. It appears, however, that this eminent writer had, long before the composition of this book, recom-

to whom we may justly add Peter Bayle [y], who, by the erudition and wit that abound in his voluminous works, acquired a distinguished reputation in the republic of letters.

mended the sceptical method of conducting philosophical researches, and looked upon it as the best adapted to establish the truth of Christianity upon solid foundations. See the Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus, lib. iv. p. 230; and Demonstrat Evangelicæ Præfat. sect. iv. p. 9, where he commends *their* manner of proceeding, *who*, by sceptical arguments, invalidate all philosophical principles, before they begin to prove the truth of Christianity to those who doubt of its evidence. It is well known that the Jesuits, who were particularly favored by Huet, have, on many occasions, employed this method to throw dust into the eyes of the Protestants, and thus lead them blindfold into the Romish communion; and that they still continue to practise the same insidious instrument of seduction.

[y] Every thing relating to the life and sentiments of Bayle is abundantly and universally known. His life, composed by M. Des-Maizeaux, was published at the Hague in 1732.—The scepticism of this insidious and seducing writer was unmasked and refuted, with great learning and force of argument, by J. P. de Crousaz, in a voluminous French work, entitled, Traité du Pyrrhonisme, of which M. Formey gave an elegant and judicious abridgement under the title of Triomphe de l'Evidence.

SECTION II.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF THE MORE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

Containing the History of the Romish Church.

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The popes of this century.

I. HIPPOLITO ALDOBRANDINI, under the papal name of Clement VIII., continued to rule the church of Rome at the commencement of this century, having been elected to that high dignity toward the conclusion of the preceding one. The eminent abilities and insidious dexterity of this pontiff, as also his ardent desire of extinguishing the Protestant religion, and extending the limits of the Romish church, are universally acknowleged; but it is much questioned, whether his prudence was equal to the arduous nature of his pontifical station, and the critical circumstances of an incidental kind that arose during his administration [a]. He was succeeded in 1605 by Leo XI. of the house of Medici, who died a few weeks after his election, and thus left the papal chair open to Camillo Borghese, by whom it was filled under the denomination of Paul V. This pontiff was of a haughty and violent spirit, jealous to excess of his authority, and insatiably furious in the execution of his revenge upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative, as appears in a striking manner by his rash

☞ [a] This pontiff had an edition of the Vulgate published, which was very different from that of pope Sixtus; and this is one of the many instances of that *contrariety* of opinion which has prevailed amongst the *infallible* heads of the church of Rome.

and unsuccessful contest with the Venetians [b].— Gregory XV. [c], who was raised to the pontificate in 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition, though he was not less defective than his predecessor in equity and clemency toward those who had separated themselves from the church of Rome. An unjust severity against the friends of the Reformation is, indeed, the general and inevitable character of the Roman pontiffs; for, without this, they would be destitute of the predominant and distinctive mark of the papacy. A pope inspired with sentiments of toleration and charity toward those who refuse a blind submission to his opinions and decisions, is a contradiction in terms. Urban VIII., who previously bore the name of Maffei Barberini, and who, by his

☞ [b] This contest arose, partly from two edicts of the republic of Venice for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy; and partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the pope at his requisition. It is not surprising that these proceedings of the Venetians, however just and equitable, should inflame the ambitious fury of a pontiff, who called himself Vice-God, the Monarch of Christendom, and the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence. Accordingly, Paul subjected all the dominions of the republic to an interdict, while the Venetians, on the other hand, declared that unjust and tyrannical mandate null and void, and banished from their territory the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had openly disobeyed the laws of the state. Preparations for war were proceeding on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honorable to the pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV. of France. This controversy between the pope and the Venetians produced several important pieces, composed by Sarpi on the side of the republic, and by Baronius and Bellarmine in behalf of the pontiff. The controversy concerning the nature and limits of the pope's pretended supremacy is judiciously stated, and the papal pretensions are accurately examined, by Sarpi, in his history of this tyrannical interdict, which, in Italian, occupies the fourth volume of his works, and was translated into Latin by William Bedell, of Cambridge.—It was Paul V. that dishonored his title of *Holiness*, and cast an eternal stain upon his *infallibility*, by an express approbation of the doctrine of Suarez, the Jesuit, in defence of the murder of kings.

☞ [c] His family name was Alexander Ludovisio.

CENT. XVII. interest in the conclave, ascended the papal throne in 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous and munificent patron of learning and genius [d]; but nothing could equal the rigor and barbarity with which he treated all who bore the name of Protestants. He may be indeed considered as a good and equitable ruler of the church, when compared with Innocent X. of the family of Pamphili, who succeeded him in 1644. This unworthy pontiff, to a profound ignorance of all those things which it was necessary for a Christian bishop to know, joined the most shameful indolence and the most notorious profligacy; for he abandoned his person, his dignity, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the government of the church, to the disposal of Donna Olympia [e], a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition [f]. His zealous endeavours to prevent the peace of Westphalia, however odious they may appear when considered in themselves, ought not to be reckoned among his personal crimes, since it is to be supposed,

[d] See Leonis Allatii Apes Urbanæ. This little work is a sort of index, or list, of all the learned and eminent men who adorned Rome, under the pontificate of Urban VIII. and experienced the munificence and liberality of that pontiff; and their number is far from being small. The Latin poems of Urban, which are not without a considerable portion of wit and elegance, have passed through several editions. ☞ These poems were composed while he was yet a cardinal. After his elevation to the pontificate, he published a remarkable edition of the Romish Breviary and several bulls; among which, that which abolishes the order of Female Jesuits and certain festivals, those relating to image-worship, and to the condemnation of Jansenius' Augustinus, and that which confers the title of Eminence upon the cardinal-legates, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of Malta, are the most worthy of notice.

☞ [e] This Donna Olympia Maldachini was his brother's widow, with whom he had lived, before his elevation to the pontificate, in an illicit commerce, in which his *holiness* continued afterwards.

[f] See the Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. and iv. of the last edition published at Geneva.—For an account of the disputes between this pontiff and the French, see Bougeant's Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie, tom. iv.

that any other pontiff, in his place, would have made the same attempts without hesitation or remorse. He was succeeded in the papal chair, in 1655, by Fabio Chigi, who assumed the title of Alexander VII. and who, though less odious than his predecessor, nevertheless possessed all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true pope, and without which the papal jurisdiction and majesty cannot be maintained. The other parts of his character are drawn much to his disadvantage, by several ingenious and eminent writers of the Romish church, who represent him as a man of a mean genius, unequal to great or difficult undertakings, full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity and the greatest inconsistency of sentiment and conduct[g]. The two Clements IX. and X. who were elected successively to the papacy in 1668 and 1669, were concerned in few transactions that deserve to be transmitted to posterity[h]. This was not the case of Benedict Odeschalchi, who is known in the list of pontiffs by the denomination of Inno-

[g] See the Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iv. p. 16, 77.—Memoires de M. Joly, tom. ii. p. 186, 210, 237.—Archenholtz, Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. ii. p. 125. ☞ The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontiff really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true that he was a man of a mean genius, or unequal to great and difficult undertakings. He was a man of learning, and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of Munster, where he appeared in the character of nuncio. Some writers relate, that, while he was in Germany, he had formed the design of abjuring popery, and embracing the Protestant religion, but was deterred from the execution of this purpose by the example of his cousin count Pompey, who was poisoned at Lyons, on his way to Germany, after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add, that Chigi was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See Bayle, Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, Oct. 1688.

☞ [h] Clement IX. was of the family of Rospigliosi, and the family name of Clement X. was Altieri. See Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. ii. There are upon record several transactions of Clement IX. that do him honor, and prove his dislike of nepotism, and his love of peace and justice.

CENT. XVII. cent XI. and was raised to that high dignity in 1677[i]. This respectable pontiff acquired a very high and permanent reputation by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish church, his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy, and to abolish a considerable number of those fictions and frauds that dishonored their ministry, and also by other solid and eminent virtues. But it appeared manifestly by his example that those pontiffs, who respect truth, and act from virtuous and Christian principles, may, indeed, form noble plans, but will never be able to carry them into execution, or at least to give them that measure of stability and perfection, which is the object of their wishes. By his example and administration it appeared, that the wisest institutions, and the most judicious establishments, will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems, or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious fictions and fables, whose credulity is abused by pious frauds, and whose minds are nourished, or rather amused, with vain rites and senseless ceremonies[k]. Be that as it may, all the wise and salutary regulations of

☞ [i] Some maintain, and with the strongest appearance of truth, that this pontiff had formerly been a soldier, though this report is treated as groundless by count Turrezonico, in his dissertation 'de suppositiis militaribus Stipendiis Bened. Odeschalchi.' See an interesting account of this pontiff in Bayle's Dictionary.

[k] See Journal Universel, tom. i. p. 441; tom. vi. p. 306. The present pope, Benedict XIV.*, attempted, in the year 1743, the *canonization* of Innocent XI.; but the king of France, instigated by the Jesuits, opposed this design, chiefly on account of the misunderstandings that always subsisted between Louis XIV. and Innocent, of which more will be said hereafter.

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* This note was written during the life of Benedict XIV.

Innocent XI. were suffered to go almost to ruin by the criminal indolence of Peter Ottoboni, who was raised to the head of the Romish church, in 1689, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. A laudable attempt was made to revive them by Innocent XII., a man of uncommon merit and eminent talents, whose name was Pignatelli, and who, in 1691, succeeded Alexander in the papal chair; nor were his zealous endeavours absolutely destitute of success. But it was also his fate to learn, by experience, that the most prudent and resolute pontiffs are unequal to such an arduous task, such an Herculean labor, as the reformation of the church and court of Rome; nor were the fruits of this good pope's wise administration enjoyed long after his decease [l]. The pontiff, whose reign concluded this century, was John Francis Albani, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in 1699, and assumed the name of Clement XI. He surpassed in learning the whole college of cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire, at least, to govern well; but he was very far from opposing, with a proper degree of vigor and resolution, the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the church over which he presided; on the contrary, he inconsiderately aimed at, what he thought, the honor and advantage of the church (that is, the glory and interests of its pontiff) by measures that proved detrimental to both; and thus shewed, by a striking example, that popes, even of the best disposition, may fall imperceptibly into the greatest mistakes, and commit the most pernicious blunders, through an imprudent zeal for extending their jurisdiction, and augmenting the influence and lustre of their station [m].

[l] For an account of the character, morals, and election of Innocent XII., see the Letters of cardinal Norris, published in the fifth volume of his Works, p. 362.

[m] In the year 1752, there appeared, at Padua, a Life of Clement XI., composed in French by the learned and eloquent

CENT. XVII.

The attempts made by the church of Rome, to oppress the Protestants and ruin their cause.

II. The incredible pains that were taken by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish church, to spread their doctrine and to erect their dominion among the nations that lay in the darkness of Paganism, have been already mentioned. We are, therefore, at present, to confine our narration to the schemes they laid, the cabals they formed, and the commotions they excited, with an uninterrupted and mischievous industry, in order to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in Europe, to oppress the Protestants, and to extinguish the light of the glorious Reformation. Various were the stratagems and projects they formed for these purposes. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the seduction of the most alluring promises, the terrors of the most formidable threatenings, the subtile wiles of controversy, the influence of pious, and often of impious frauds, the arts of dissimulation, in short, all possible means, fair or disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the reformed churches, but in most cases without success. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the Reformation had been, for some time, formed in secret; and the bigoted and persecuting house of Austria, at the pope's persuasion, undertook to put it in execution. However, as injustice, however arrogant, usually seeks some pretext to mask, or at least to diminish its deformity, so the church of Rome endeavoured before-hand to justify the persecution, of which the flame was ready

M. Lafitau, bishop of Sisteron. In the same year M. Reboulet, chancellor of Avignon, published his Histoire de Clement XI. These two productions, and more especially the latter, are written with uncommon elegance; but they abound with historical errors, which the French writers, in general, are at too little pains to avoid. Besides, they are both composed rather in the strain of panegyric than of history. An attentive reader will, however, easily perceive, even in these panegyrics, that Clement XI., notwithstanding his acknowleged sagacity and prudence, took several rash and inconsiderate steps, in order to augment the power, and multiply the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs; and thus, through his own temerity, involved himself in various perplexities.

to break out. For this purpose, the pens of the perfidious and learned Scioppius [n], of the Jesuits Tanner, Possevin, Hager, Hederic, and Forer, jurists of Dillingen, were employed to represent the treaty of peace, concluded between Charles V. and the Protestants of Germany, as unjust, null, and even rendered void by the Protestants themselves, by their departing from, or at least perverting, by various changes and modifications, the confession of Augsburg [o]. This injurious charge was proved groundless by several Lutheran doctors, who, of their own accord, defended their communion against this instance of popish calumny; and it was also refuted by public authority, by the express order of John George, elector of Saxony. The task was committed to Matthew Hoe, who, in the years 1628 and 1631, published an accurate and laborious defence of the Protestants, entitled, Defensio Pupillæ Evangelicæ. The mouth of calumny was not stopped by these performances. The accusers continued their clamors, multiplied their libels, and had recourse to the succours of indecent raillery and sarcastic wit, to cover, as well as they were able, the striking defects of a bad cause. On the other hand, the Lutheran writers exerted themselves in exposing the sophistry, and refuting the arguments and invectives of their adversaries.

Commotions in Austria and Bohemia.

III. The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontiffs proposed to carry on by the arms of the Austrians and Spaniards, their servile and bigoted instruments, broke out in Austria, where, about the commencement of this century, the friends of the Reformation were cruelly persecuted and

☞ [n] Scioppius seems rather to merit the titles of *malevolent* and *furious*, than that of *perfidious*, unless his turning papist be considered by Dr. Mosheim as an instance of perfidy. This is the intemperate and odious satirist who was caned by the servants of the English ambassador at Madrid, for the invectives he had thrown out against king James I. in a book which was burned by the hands of the common hangman at Paris.

[o] See Salig, Histor. August. Confessionis, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 768.

oppressed by their Roman catholic adversaries [p]. The solemn treaties and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these Protestants had been secured, were trampled upon, and violated in the most shocking manner; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution, vigor, or strength, sufficient to maintain their privileges. The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly that the votaries of Rome earnestly wished to deprive them of that religious liberty, which had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to a resolution of taking up arms to defend themselves against a set of men, whom, in consequence of the violence they offered to conscience, they could look upon in no other light than as the enemies of their souls. Accordingly a league was formed by the Bohemian Protestants; and they began to avenge, with great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be acknowleged, that, in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they lost sight of the dictates of equity and moderation, and carried their resentment beyond the bounds, both of reason and religion. Their adversaries were alarmed at a view of their intrepidity, but were not dismayed. The Bohemians, therefore, apprehending still farther opposition and vexations from bigotry, animated by a spirit of vengeance, renewed their efforts to provide for their security. The death of

[p] Raupachius, in his Austria Evangelica (a German work with a Latin title), has given an accurate account of this persecution and these commotions. The same learned and worthy author had formed the design of publishing an authentic and circumstantial relation of the sufferings of the Protestants in Styria, Moravia, and Carinthia, with an account of the perfidious snares that were laid for them, the whole drawn from unexceptionable records; but death prevented the execution of this scheme.

the emperor Matthias, which happened in 1619, furnished them, as they thought, with an opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the reformed religion; for they considered themselves as authorised by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to reject any one who pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly, Frederic V., elector Palatine, who professed the reformed religion, was, in the same year, chosen king of Bohemia, and solemnly crowned at Prague[q].

The Bohemian war. Frederic V.

IV. This bold step, from which the Bohemians expected such signal advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were highly detrimental to their new sovereign, and fatal to their own liberties and privileges; for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of the Protestant religion, the security of which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. Frederic was defeated, before Prague, by the Imperial army, in 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary dominions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories, and his ample treasures, to the merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those who, from a zeal for religious liberty and the interests of the Reforma-

[q] Beside Caroli and Jagerus, who have composed the ecclesiastical history of this century, see Burch. Gotth. Struvii Syntagma Historiæ Germanicæ, p. 1487, 1510, 1523, 1538; as also the writers whom he recommends. See also the Histoire de Louis XIII., composed by the learned and accurate Le Vassor, tom. iii. p. 223.

tion, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life; several had their estates and possessions confiscated; many were put to death, and the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to embrace the religion of the victor, and bend an unwilling neck under the yoke of Rome. The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, nor would they have been in a condition to impose such rigorous and despotic terms on the Bohemians, had they not been powerfully assisted by John George I., elector of Saxony, who, partly from a principle of hatred toward the Reformed [r], and partly from considerations of a political kind, reinforced with his troops the imperial army [s]. This invasion of the Palatinate was the occasion of that long and bloody war, that was so injurious to Germany, and in which the greatest part of the princes of Europe were, in one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of Denmark, in order to assert the rights of the elector Palatine,

☞ [r] By the Reformed, as has been already observed, we are to understand the Calvinists, and also, in general, those Protestants who are not of the Lutheran persuasion. And here we see a Lutheran elector drawing his sword to support the cause of popery and persecution against a people generously struggling for the Protestant religion, and the rights of conscience.

[s] See the Commentarii de Bello Bohemico-Germanico, ab A. C. 1617 ad An. 1630.—Abraham Scultet, Narratio Apologetica de Curriculo Vitæ suæ, p. 86.—It is well known, that the Roman catholics, and more especially Martin Becan, a Jesuit, persuaded Matthew Hoe, who was an Austrian by birth, and the elector's chaplain, to represent to his prince the cause of the elector Palatine (which was the cause of the reformed religion) as not only unjust, but also as detrimental to the interests of Lutheranism, and to recommend to him the cause and interests of the house of Austria. See Unschuldige Nachricht, An. 1747, p. 858. ☞ What Dr. Mosheim observes here may be true; but then it is as true that Matthew Hoe must have been a great fool, or a great knave, to listen to such insinuations, not only on account of their glaring absurdity, but also considering the persons from whom they came. This is the same Hoe that is mentioned above, as a learned defender of the Lutheran faith.

unjustly excluded from his dominions, against the despotic proceedings of the emperor. The confederates maintained, that the invasion of Bohemia, by this unhappy prince, was no just subject of offence to the emperor; and that the house of Austria, whose quarrel the emperor was not obliged by any means to adopt, was alone the sufferer in this case. However that may have been, the progress and issue of the war were unfavorable to the allies.

The progress of the German or Bohemian war.

V. The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of popery and Rome with the warmest transports of joy and exultation, and presented to their imaginations the most flattering prospects. They thought that the happy period was now approaching, when the whole tribe of heretics, that had withdrawn their necks from the papal yoke, should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor himself seemed to have imbibed no small portion of this odious spirit, which was doubly prepared, to convert or destroy. The flame of ambition that burned within him was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he audaciously carried his arms through a great part of Germany, suffered his generals to harass, with impunity, such princes and states as refused a blind obedience to the court of Rome, and shewed plainly, by all his proceedings, that a scheme had been laid for the extinction of the Germanic liberty, civil and sacred. The Saxon elector's zealous attachment to the emperor, which he had abundantly discovered by his warm and ungenerous opposition to the unfortunate Frederic, together with the lamentable discord that reigned among the German princes, persuaded the papal faction, that the difficulties which seemed to oppose the execution of their project, were far from being invincible. Accordingly, the persons concerned in this grand enterprise began to act their respective parts. In 1629, Ferdinand II., to give some color of justice to this religious war, issued out the terrible *restitution-edict*, by which the Protestants were ordered

CENT. XVII. to restore to the church of Rome all the possessions of which they had become masters in consequence of the religious peace, concluded in the preceding century [t]. This edict principally arose from the suggestions of the Jesuits. That greedy and ambitious order claimed a great part of these goods and possessions as a recompence due to their labors in the cause of religion; and hence arose a warm contest between them and the ancient and real proprietors [u]. This contest, indeed, was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating soldier, who, sword in hand, gave weight and authority to the imperial edict, wresting out of the hands of the lawful possessor, without form of process, whatever the Romish priests and monks thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression and injustice could suggest [v].

Gustavus Adolphus intervenes.

VI. Germany groaned under these dismal scenes of tumult and oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy assailed her on all sides; and not one of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries, or the assertor

[t] See, for an illustration of this matter, the authors mentioned by Struvius, in his Syntagma Histor. Germaniæ, p. 1553.

[u] See Salig, Histor. August. Confessionis, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. sect. xxv. p. 810.

☞ [v] When the consequences of these iniquitous and barbarous proceedings were represented to this emperor, and he was assured that the country must be utterly ruined, if the Bohemians, rendered desperate by his enormous cruelty and oppression, should exert themselves in defence of their liberties, and endeavour to repel force by force, he is reported to have answered, with great zeal and calmness, *Malumus regnum vastatum, quam damnatum.* See the Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ, published in 1648. This little book contains an ample recital of the deplorable effects of lawless power, inhuman bigotry, and blood-thirsty zeal, and proves, by numberless facts, that Dr. Mosheim had the strongest evidence for the account he gives of Ferdinand and his missionaries. It is impossible to reflect upon the sanguinary spirit of such converters, without expressing, at the same time, a generous detestation and abhorrence of their unjust and violent proceedings.

of her rights. Some were restrained from appearing in her cause by the suggestions of bigotry, others by a principle of fear, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interest, which choked in their breasts all concern for the public good. An illustrious hero, whose deeds even envy was obliged to revere, and whose name will descend with glory to the latest ages, came forth, nevertheless, at this critical season; Gustavus Adolphus took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the oppression and tyranny of the house of Austria. At the earnest request of the French court, which beheld, with uneasiness, the overgrown power of that aspiring house, he set sail for Germany, in 1629, with a small army; and, by his repeated victories, blasted, in a short time, the sanguine hopes which the pope and emperor had entertained of suppressing the Protestant religion in the empire. These hopes, indeed, seemed to revive in 1632, when this glorious assertor of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of Lutzen [w]; but this very serious loss was, in some measure, made up in process of time, by the conduct of those who succeeded Gustavus at the head of the Swedish army. And, accordingly, the war was obstinately carried on in bleeding Germany, during many years, with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties, and the pacific inclinations of Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus, put an end to these desolations, and brought on a treaty of peace.

CENT. XVII. The conclusion of the war of thirty years.

VII. Thus, after a war of thirty years, carried on with the most unrelenting animosity and ardor, the wounds of Germany were closed, and the drooping states of Europe revived, in 1648, by the peace of

The peace of Westphalia.

[w] See Archenholtz, Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. i. in which are many very interesting anecdotes relating to the life, exploits, and death of Gustavus. The learned compiler of these *Memoires* has also thrown much light upon this period, and particularly upon the peace that terminated this long and dreadful war.

Westphalia, so called from the cities of Munster and Osnabrug, where the negotiations were prosecuted and concluded. The Protestants, indeed, did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they claimed, or all the advantages they had in view; for the emperor, among less important instances of obstinacy, absolutely refused to reinstate the Bohemian and Austrian protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the Upper Palatinate to its ancient and lawful proprietor. Yet they obtained, by this peace, privileges and advantages which the votaries of Rome beheld with great displeasure and uneasiness; and it is unquestionably evident, that the treaty of Westphalia gave a new and remarkable degree of stability to the Lutheran and reformed churches in Germany. By this treaty the peace of Augsburg, which the Lutherans had obtained from Charles V. in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the machinations and stratagems of the court of Rome; it abrogated the edict that commanded the protestants to restore to the Romish church the ecclesiastical revenues and lands of which they had taken possession after that peace; and it confirmed both the contending parties in the perpetual possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624. It would be entering into a very long detail, were we to enumerate the advantages that accrued to the protestant princes from this treaty *. All this

* An account of this whole matter, sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the most inquisitive reader, may be found in that most elaborate and excellent work, compiled by the very learned and judicious John Godfrey de Meyern, under the following title: Acta Pacis Westphalicæ et Executionis ejus Norimbergensis. See also the more compendious, though valuable work of Adam Adami, bishop of Hierapolis, entitled, Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo-Monasteriensi, of which the illustrious author published a new edition in 1737, more accurate and ample than the preceding one. We must not omit here the ingenious Father Bougeant's elegant history of this treaty, which, though chiefly drawn from the papers of the French ambassadors, is nevertheless (generally speaking) composed with accuracy, impartiality, and candor; it was published in 1746, under the title of Histoire de la Paix de Westphalie.

was a source of vexation to the court of Rome, and made its pontiff feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. He, accordingly, used various stratagems, without being very scrupulous in his choice, in order to annul this treaty, or elude its effects; but his attempts were unsuccessful, since neither the emperor, nor the princes that had embarked in this cause, thought it adviseable to involve themselves anew in the tumults of war, whose issue is so uncertain, and whose most fatal effects they had lately escaped with so much difficulty. The treaty, therefore, was executed in all its parts; and all the articles that had been agreed upon at Munster and Osnabrug were confirmed and ratified, in 1650, at Nuremberg[y].

The protestants vexed and persecuted by Rome and its votaries.

VIII. After this period, the court of Rome and its creatures were laid under a considerable degree of restraint. They no longer dared to make war in an open and public manner upon the protestants, since the present state of affairs blasted all the hopes they had fondly entertained of extinguishing the light of the reformation, by destroying, or reducing under their spiritual yoke, the princes and states that had encouraged and protected it in their territories. But, wherever they could exert the spirit of persecution with impunity, they oppressed the protestants in the most grievous manner, and, in defiance of the most solemn conventions and the most sacred obligations, encroached upon their rights, privileges, and possessions. Thus in Hungary, during the space of ten years[z], both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations[a]. The injuries and insults they suf-

[y] Pope Innocent X. opposed, to this treaty of peace, in 1651, a flaming bull, on which Hornbeck published an ample and learned commentary, entitled, Examen Bulli Papalis, quâ Innocentius X. abrogare nititur Pacem Germaniæ. This *bull* might, perhaps, have produced some effect upon the emperor and his allies, had it been properly *gilded*.

[z] From 1671 to 1681.

[a] See Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungariâ, p. 69. Pauli Debrezeni Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungariâ, lib. ii. p. 447.—Schelhornius, in Museo Helvetico, tom. vii. p. 46—90.

CENT. XVII. fered from various orders of men, and more especially from the Jesuits, both before and after the period now under consideration, are not to be numbered. In Poland, all those who ventured to differ from the pope, found, by a bitter experience, during the whole course of this century, that no treaty or convention that tended to set bounds to the authority or rapacity of the church, was deemed sacred, or even regarded at Rome; for many of these were ejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed of their goods and possessions under a variety of perfidious pretexts, and frequently condemned to the most severe and cruel punishments, without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime[b]. The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the valleys of Piedmont, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty (and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685), on account of their magnanimous and steady attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword by the dukes of Savoy[c]. In Germany, the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost every where flagrant acts of injustice. The infractions of the famous treaty above-mentioned, and of the Germanic liberty that was founded upon it, would furnish matter for many volumes[d]; and all these infractions were occasioned by a preposterous and extravagant zeal for augmenting the authority, and extending the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. And, indeed, as long as that church and its assuming pontiff shall persist in main-

[b] See Ad. Regenvolscii Historia Ecclesiæ Sclavonicæ, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216, 235, 253.—The grievances which the dissenters from the church of Rome suffered in Poland after the death of Regenvolscius, may be learned from various memorials that have been published in our times.

[c] See Gilles' Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Vaudoises, chap. xlviii. p. 339.

[d] The histories of the grievances suffered by the protestants of Germany on account of their religion, that have been composed by Struvius and Hoffman, contain ample details of this matter.

taining that they have a right to extend their lordly sceptre over all the churches of the Christian world, so long must those who have renounced their authority, but are more or less within their reach, despair of enjoying the inestimable blessings of security and peace. They will always be considered as rebellious subjects, against whom the greatest acts of severity and violence are lawful.

The Moors banished out of Spain, and the Protestants persecuted in France.

IX. The over-zealous instruments of the court of Rome at length accomplished, in this century, (what had often been attempted without success,) the deliverance of Spain from the infidelity of the Moors, and of France from the heresy of the protestants. The posterity of the Moors or Saracens, who had formerly been masters of the greatest part of Spain, had hitherto lived in that kingdom, mixed with the other inhabitants of the country, and their number was still considerable. They were Christians, at least in their external profession and manners; industrious also, and inoffensive; and, upon the whole, good and useful subjects: but they were strongly suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrine of Mohammed, which was the religion of their ancestors. Hence the clergy beset the monarch with their importunate solicitations, and never ceased their clamorous remonstrances before a royal edict was obtained to drive the Saracens out of the Spanish territories. This imprudent step was highly detrimental to the kingdom, and its pernicious effects are more or less visible even at the present time; but the church, whose interest and dominion are, in popish countries, considered as distinct from the interests and authority of the state, and of a much more sublime and excellent nature, acquired new accessions of wealth and power by the expulsion of the Moors[e]. In proportion as the community lost, the church gained; and thus the public good was sacrificed to the demands of bigotry and superstition.

[e] See the history of this impolitic expulsion by Michael Geddes, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. i.

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In France, the persecuting spirit of the Romish church exhibited scenes still more shocking. The Huguenots, after having long groaned under various forms of cruelty and oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death, by secret conspiracies or open tyranny and violence, were, at length, obliged either to save themselves by a clandestine flight, or to profess, against their consciences, the Romish religion. This barbarous and iniquitous scene of French persecution, than which the annals of modern history present nothing more unnatural and odious, will find its place below, in the history of the Reformed Church[f].

The court of Rome fails in its attempts upon England.

X. All the resources of inventive genius and refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring back Great-Britain and Ireland under the yoke of Rome. But all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of desperate and execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry and the hatred of the protestant religion had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity, were instigated by three Jesuits, of whom Garnet, the superior of the society in England, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy, at one blow, James I. the prince of Wales, and both houses of parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was concealed for that purpose, in the vaults situated under the house of lords. The sanguinary bigots concerned in it imagined, that, as soon as this horrible deed was performed, they would be at full liberty to restore popery to its former credit, and substitute it in the place of the protestant religion[g]. This odious conspiracy, whose infernal pur-

[f] In the second chapter of the second part of this section.

☞ [g] There is a letter extant written by Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators, to his wife, after his condemnation, which deserves an eminent place in the history of superstition

pose was providentially discovered, when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in Britain under the denomination of the *gun-powder plot*[h]. CENT. XVII.

This discovery did not suspend the efforts and stratagems of the court of Rome, which carried on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with less violence, and more caution. Charles I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor of good qualities[i], though he carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient forms and ceremonies of the church. The queen also, Henrietta Maria, who was a princess of France, was warmly devoted to the interests of popery; and from all this it seemed probable, that, though treason and violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between England and Rome[j]. This prospect, which had smiled in the imaginations of the friends of popery, vanished entirely when the civil war broke out between the king and parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate Charles, and his imprudent and bigoted counsellor Laud, were brought to the scaffold; and Oliver Cromwell, a man of un-

and bigotry, and shews abundantly their infernal spirit and tendency. The following passage will confirm this judgement: "Now for my intention," says Digby, "let me tell you, that if "I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would "not have been of it for all the would; and no other cause "drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's "religion." See the Papers relating to the popish plot, published by the orders of secretary Coventry.

[h] See Rapin's Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. vii. liv. xviii. and Heidegger's Historia Papatus.

☞ [i] Mr. Hume, speaking of Laud's learning and morals, expresses himself in the following manner: "This man was "virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from "pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if pole-"mical knowlege could entitle him to that praise."

[j] See Cerri's Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 315.—Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 194.

CENT. XVII. paralleled resolution, dexterity, and foresight, and a declared enemy to every thing that bore even the most distant resemblance to popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of Protector of the Common-wealth.

The hopes of Rome and its votaries were nevertheless revived by the restoration of Charles II., and from that period grew more lively and sanguine from day to day. For that monarch, as appears from unquestionable authorities[k], had been initiated, during his exile, into the mysteries of popery, and had secretly embraced that religion, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly, and had publicly apostatised from the protestant faith. Charles, indeed, was not a proper instrument for the propagation of any theological system. Indolent and voluptuous on one hand, and inclined to infidelity and irreligion on the other, it was not from him that the Roman pontiff could expect the zeal and industry which were necessary to force upon the English nation, a religion so contrary as popery was to the tenor of the laws and the spirit of the people[l]. This zeal was found in his

[k] Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. book iii.—Neal, vol. iv.—Rapin, liv. xxiii.

☞ [l] Such is the representation given of Charles II. by almost every historian; so that Dr. Mosheim is excusable in mistaking a part of this monarch's character, which was known to very few before him. Mr. Hume, whose history of the reign of that prince is a master-piece in every respect, gave a like account of Charles, as fluctuating between deism and popery. But this eminent historian having had occasion, during his residence at Paris, to peruse the manuscript memoirs of king James II. which were written by himself, and are kept in the Scotish college there, received from them new information with respect to the religious character of Charles, and was convinced that his zeal for popery went much farther than has been generally imagined. For it appears, with the utmost evidence, from these memoirs, that the king had laid with his ministry a formal plan for subverting the constitution in favor of popery; and that the introduction of popery, as the established religion, was the great and principal object which Charles had in view when he entered into the French alliance, which was concluded at Versailles in June

bigoted successor James II.; but it was accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence as entirely defeated its own purposes; for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of Rome, and his blind obsequiousness to the unseasonable and precipitate counsels of the Jesuits, who were the oracles of his cabinet, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and lost that royalty which he was attempting to fix on the basis of despotism. He openly attempted to restore to its former vigor, both in England and Ireland, the authority of the pontiff, which had been renounced and annulled by the laws of both realms; and that he might accomplish with the more facility this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rights and privileges of his people, that had ever been deemed most respectable and sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support and maintain. Justly exasperated and provoked by repeated insults from the throne upon their religion and liberties, and alarmed with natural apprehensions of the approaching ruin of both, the English looked about for a deliverer, and fixed their views, in 1688, on William prince of Orange (son-in-law to their despotic monarch), by whose wisdom and valor, affairs were so conducted that James was

1670, by lord Arundel of Wardour. By this treaty, Louis was to give Charles 200,000 pounds a-year, in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to establish the Roman catholic religion in England; and he also engaged to supply him with 6000 men in case of any insurrection. The division of the United Provinces between England and France was another article of this treaty. But we are told that the subversion of the protestant religion in England was the point that Charles had chiefly at heart, and that he insisted warmly on beginning with the execution of this part of the treaty; but the duchess of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war. The king (says Mr. Hume) was so *zealous a papist*, that he *wept for joy* when he entertained the project of re-uniting his kingdom to the catholic church. See the Corrections and Additions to Mr. Hume's History of Charles II., and also Macpherson's Appendix to his History of Great-Britain.

CENT. XVII. obliged to retire from his dominions, and to abdicate the crown; and the pope and his adherents were disappointed in the fond expectations they had formed of restoring popery in England [m].

Milder methods are employed by Rome against the Protestant cause.

XI. When the more prudent defenders and patrons of the Romish faith perceived the ill success that attended all their violent and sanguinary attempts to establish its authority, they thought it expedient to have recourse to softer methods; and, instead of conquering the protestants by open force, proposed deluding them back into the church of Rome by the insinuating influence of secret artifice. This way of proceeding was approved by many of the votaries of Rome; but they did not all agree about the particular manner of employing it, and therefore followed different methods. Some had recourse to the appointment of public disputations or conferences between the principal doctors of the contending parties; and this from a notion, which past experience had rendered so vain and chimerical, that the adversaries of popery would either be vanquished in the debate, or at least be persuaded to look upon the Roman catholics with less aversion and disgust. Others declared it as their opinion, that all contest was to be suspended; that the great point was to find out the proper method of reconciling the two churches; and that, in order to promote this salutary purpose, as little stress as possible was to be laid upon those matters of controversy which had been hitherto looked upon as of the highest moment and importance. A different manner of proceeding was thought more adviseable by a third set of men, who, from a persuasion that their doctors had more zeal than argument, and were much more eminent for their attachment to the church of Rome, than for their

[m] The circumstances of this famous and ever-memorable revolution are accurately recorded by Burnet, in the second volume of his History of his own Times; and also by Rapin, in the tenth volume of his History of England. Add, to these, Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. ch. xi. p. 536.

skill in defending its cause, prepared their combatants with greater care for the field of controversy, taught them a new art of theological war, and furnished them with a new and artful method of vanquishing, or at least of perplexing, their heretical adversaries.

Theological conferences between the doctors of both churches.

XII. A public conference took place at Ratisbon, in 1601, at the joint desire of Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Philip Louis, elector Palatine, between some eminent Lutheran doctors on one side, and three celebrated Jesuits on the other. The dispute turned upon the two great points, to which almost all the contests between the protestants and Roman catholics are reducible, namely, the rule of faith and the judge of controversies. In 1615, James Heilbronner, a learned Lutheran, held a conference at Neuburg with James Keller, a celebrated Jesuit, by the appointment of Wolfgang William, prince Palatine, who had recently embraced the Romish faith. But the most famous conference of this kind, was that which was holden in 1645, at Thorn, by the express order of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland, between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches. This meeting, which was designed to heal the division that reigned among these churches, and to find out some method of reconciling their differences, and bringing about their re-union, was thence called the *Charitable Conference.*

Some time after this, Ernest, landgrave of Hesse, in order to give a plausible color to his apostasy from the protestant religion, and make it appear to be the result of examination and conviction, obliged Valerianus Magnus, a learned Capuchin, to enter the lists with Peter Habercorn, a reformed minister, in the castle of Rheinfeld. Beside these public conferences, there were some of a private nature during this century, between the doctors of the contending churches. Of these the most remarkable was the famous dispute between John Claude, the most learned of the re-

CENT. XVII. formed divines in France, and Jaques Benigne de Bossuet, whose genius and erudition placed him at the head of the Romish doctors in that country. This dispute, which occurred in 1683, ended like all the rest. They all widened the breach instead of healing it. Neither of the contending parties could be persuaded to yield [n]: on the contrary, they both returned from the field of controversy more riveted in their own opinions, and more unfriendly to the tenets of their adversaries.

The methods of reconciliation employed by the Roman Catholics.

XIII. Those Roman catholics, whose views were turned toward union and concord, did not omit the use of *pious* artifice, in order to accomplish this salutary purpose. They endeavoured to persuade the zealous protestants and the rigid catholics, that their differences in opinion were less considerable, and less important, than they themselves imagined; and that the true way to put an end to their dissensions, and to promote union, was not to nourish the flames of discord by disputes and conferences, but to see whether their systems might not be reconciled, and apparent inconsistencies removed, by proper and candid explications. They imagined that a plausible and artful exposition of those doctrines of the church of Rome, which appeared the most shocking to the Protestants, would tend much to conquer their aversion to popery. Such was the general principle in which the Romish peace-makers agreed, and such the basis on which they proposed to carry on their pacific operations; but they differed so widely in their manner of applying this general principle, and pursued such different methods in the execution of this nice and hazardous stratagem, that the event did not answer their expectations.

[n] The reader who desires a more particular account of what passed in these conferences, may satisfy his curiosity by consulting the writers mentioned by Sagittarius, in his Introduct. in Historiam Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 1569, 1581, 1592, 1598. An account of the conference between Claude and Bossuet, was composed and published by each of these famous combatants.

In the way they proceeded, instead of promoting the desired union by their representations of things, by their exhortations and counsels, this union seemed to be previously necessary, in order to render their explications and exhortations acceptable, or even supportable; so little were the means proportioned to the end!

The first, as well as the most eminent, of those who tried the force of their genius in this arduous enterprise, was cardinal Richelieu, that great minister, who employed all the influence of promises and threats, all the powers of sophistry and eloquence, all the arts of persuasion, in order to bring back the French protestants into the bosom of the Romish church [o]. The example of this illustrious prelate was followed, with less dignity and less influence, by Masenius, a German Jesuit [p], Volusius, a theologian of Mentz [q], Prætorius, a Prussian [r], Gibbon de Burg, an Irish doctor, who was professor at Erfort [s], Marcellus, a Jesuit [t], and other divines of inferior note. But, of all modern adepts in controversy, none pursued this method with such dexterity and art as Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, a man of true genius, directed by the most consummate circumspection and prudence. The famous Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith, that was drawn up by this subtile and insinuating author, was designed to shew the protestants, that their reasons against returning to the

[o] Rich. Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. i.—Bayle's Dictionary, at the articles Amyraut, Beaulieu, Ferry, and Milletiere.

[p] See F. Spanhemii Stricturæ ad Bossueti Expositionem Fidei Catholicæ, tom. iii. op. Theolog. par. ii. p. 1042.

[q] There is extant a book composed by this writer under the following title: Aurora Pacis religiosæ divinæ Veritati amica.

[r] In his Tuba Pacis, of which the reader may see a curious account in Bayle's Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres for the year 1685.

[s] In a treatise, entitled, Luthero Calvinismus schismaticus quidem sed reconciliabilis.

[t] The book of Marcellus, entitled Sapientia Pacifica, was refuted by Seldius, at the express desire of the duke of Saxe-Gotha.

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[u] This book might furnish topics for a multitude of reflexions. See a particular account of its history and its effects in Pfaff's Historia Literaria Theologiæ, tom. ii., and Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique, tom. xi. ☞ It is remarkable, that nine years passed before this work could obtain the pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively; and several catholic priests were rigorously treated, and severely persecuted, for preaching the doctrine contained in the Exposition, which was, moreover, formally condemned by the university of Louvain, in 1685, and declared to be scandalous and pernicious. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book, though by a late edict we learn, that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinion on that head, and thus given a new instance of the variations that reign in the Romish church, which boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent archbishop Wake, in the Introduction to his Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England. See also his two Defences of that Exposition, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. de la Bastide, one of the most eminent protestant ministers in France. Of this answer the French prelate took no notice during eight years; at the end of which, he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his Exposition, which was designed to remove the objections of Bastide. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of Bossuet, and the controversies it occasioned, in the Bibliotheque des Sciences published at the Hague, vol. xviii. This account, which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the Exposition, printed in 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation by Fleury, and partly on occasion of Burigny's Life of Bossuet.

and that of the confession of Augsburg, than which no two systems can be more irreconcileably opposite[w]. It is, however, remarkable, that all these pacific attempts to re-unite the two churches, were made by the persons now mentioned on their own private authority; they were not avowed by the higher powers, who alone were qualified to remove, modify, or explain away those doctrines and rites of the Romish church, that shocked the protestants and justified their separation. It is true, that, in 1686, this plan of reconciliation was warmly recommended by a person properly commissioned, or, at least, who gave himself out for such. This pacificator was Christopher de Roxas, bishop of Tinia, in the district of Bosnia; who, during several years, frequented, with these reconciling views, the courts of the protestant princes in Germany; intimated the assembling of a new council, that was to be more impartial in its decisions and less restrained in its proceedings than the council of Trent; and even assured the protestants, that they might obtain without difficulty whatever rights, privileges, and immunities, they should think proper to demand from the Roman pontiff, provided they would acknowlege his paternal authority, and no longer refuse submission to his mild and gentle empire. But the artifice and designs of this specious missionary were easily detected; the protestant doctors, and also their sovereigns, soon perceived that a fair and candid plan of reconciliation and union was not what the court of Rome had in view; but that a scheme was in agitation for restoring its pontiffs to their former despotic dominion over the Christian world[x].

[w] This book is entitled, La Re-union des Protestans de Strasbourg à l'Eglise Romaine, and was published in 1689.—See Phil. Jac. Speneri Consilia Theol. German. in parte iii. p. 650, 662.

[x] See Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri Historia Ecclesiast. Sæculi xvii.—Christ. Eberhardi Weismanni Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæculi xvii. p. 735. The reader will find, in the Commercium Epistolico-

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Protestant peace-makers.

XIV. The Romish peace-makers found among the protestants, and more especially among those of the reformed church, certain doctors, who, by a natural propensity to union and concord, seconded perhaps, in some, by views of interest, or by the suggestions of ambition, were disposed to enter into their plan, and to assist them in the execution of it. These theologians maintained, that the points in debate between the churches were not of sufficient importance to justify their separation. Among the French protestants, Louis Le Blanc and his disciples were suspected of a strong inclination to go too far in this matter [y]. The same accusation was brought, with fuller evidence, against Huisseaux, professor of divinity at Saumur, Milletiere, Le Fevre, and others of less note [z]. Among the British divines, this excessive propensity to diminish the shocking absurdities of popery was less remarkable; William Forbes was the principal person who discovered an extreme facility to compose a considerable number of the differences that contributed to perpetuate the separation between the churches [a].

Leibnitianum of Gruberus, vol. i. an account of the particular conditions of reconciliation that were proposed to the German courts in 1660, by the elector of Mentz, authorised, as it is alleged, by the Roman pontiff.

[y] See a particular and interesting account of Le Blanc, in Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Beaulieu.

[z] See the above-mentioned Dictionary, at the article Milletiere. For an account of Huisseaux, and his pacific counsels, see Rich. Simon's Lettres Choisies, tom. iii., and Aymon's Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées en France, tom. ii. The labors of Le-Fevre, father to the famous Madame Dacier, in the same cause, are mentioned by Morhoff, in his Polyhistor, tom. i.

[a] See Forbes' "Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio," &c., which were published at London in 1658, and afterwards more correctly in Germany, under the inspection of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt. Forbes is mentioned by Grabe with the highest encomiums, in his Notæ ad Bulli Harmoniam Apostolicam; and, if we consider his probity, and the exemplary regularity of his life and conversation, he must be allowed to deserve the praise that is due to piety and good morals. Nevertheless, he had his infirmities, and the wiser part of the English doctors

With respect to the Dutch, it is abundantly known, how ardently the great and learned Grotius desired the re-union of all Christian churches in one general bond of charity and concord, and with what peculiar zeal he endeavoured to reform some enormities of the church of Rome, and to excuse others. But these and all the other arbitrators, whose names and whose efforts in this pacific cause it would be tedious to mention, derived no other fruit from their (perhaps, well-intended) labors, than the displeasure of both the contending parties, and the bitter reproaches of their respective churches.

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In the number of the protestant doctors who betrayed an inconsiderate zeal for the re-union of these churches, many writers place George Calixtus, a man of eminent learning, and professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt. It is nevertheless certain, that this great man discovered and exposed the errors and corruptions of popery with a degree of learning and perspicuity scarcely surpassed by any writer of this century, and persisted in maintaining, that the decrees and anathemas of the council of Trent had banished all hopes of a reconciliation between the protestant churches and the see of Rome. He looked, indeed, upon some of the controversies that divided the two communions with much greater indulgence than was usually shewn, and decided them in a manner that did not seem suited to the taste and spirit of the times: he was also of opinion that the church of Rome had not destroyed the genuine principles of Christianity, but had only deformed them with its senseless fictions, and buried them under a

acknowlege, that his propensity toward a reconciliation with the church of Rome was carried too far. See Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i.—On this account he has been lavishly praised by the catholic writers; see R. Simon's Lettres Choisies, tom. iii. lettre xvii.—He was undoubtedly one of those who contributed most to spread among the English a notion (the truth or falsehood of which we shall not here examine), that king Charles I. and archbishop Laud had formed the design of restoring popery in England.

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heap of rubbish, under a motley multitude of the most extravagant and intolerable doctrines and ceremonies. It was undoubtedly on this account, that he has been ranked by some in the class of the imprudent peace-makers already mentioned.

The Popish Methodists.

XV. It was no difficult matter to defeat the purposes, and ruin the credit of these pacific arbitrators, who, upon the whole, made up but a motley and ill-composed society, weakened by intestine discords. It required more dexterity, and greater efforts of genius, to oppose the progress, and disconcert the sophistry of a set of men who had invented new methods of defending popery, and attacking its adversaries. This new species of polemic doctors were called Methodists, and the most eminent of them arose in France, where a perpetual scene of controversy, carried on with the most learned among the Huguenots, had augmented the dexterity, and improved the theological talents, of the catholic disputants. The Methodists, from their different manner of treating the controversy in question, may be divided into two classes. In one we may place those doctors whose method of disputing was disingenuous and unreasonable, and who followed the examples of those military chiefs, who shut up their troops in entrenchments and strongholds, in order to cover them from the attacks of the enemy. Such was the manner of proceeding of the Jesuit Veron, who was of opinion that the protestants should be obliged to prove the tenets of their church [b] by plain passages of Scripture, without being allowed to have the liberty of illustrating these passages, reasoning upon them, or drawing any conclusions from them [c]. In the same class may be ranked Nihusius, an apostate from the protestant religion [d], the two

☞ [b] More especially the doctrines that peculiarly oppose the decrees and tenets of the council of Trent.

[c] Musæus de Usu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis, lib. i. c. iv.—G. Calixti Digressio de Arte novâ, p. 125.—Simon's Lettres Choisies, tom. i.

[d] See a particular account of this vain and superficial doctor in Bayle's Dictionary. His work, entitled Ars nova dicto

Walenburgs, and other polemics, who, looking upon it as an easier matter to maintain their pretensions, than to shew upon what principles they were originally founded [e], obliged their adversaries to prove all their assertions and objections, whether of an affirmative or negative kind, and confined themselves to the mere business of answering objections, and repelling attacks. We may also place among this kind of Methodists cardinal Richelieu, who judged it the shortest and best way to attend little to the multitude of accusations, objections, and reproaches, with which the protestants loaded the various branches of the Romish government, discipline, doctrine, and worship, and to confine the whole controversy to the single article of the divine institution and authority of the church, which he thought it essential to establish by the strongest arguments, as the grand principle that would render popery impregnable [f].

The *Methodists* of the second class were of opinion, that the most expedient manner of reducing the protestants to silence, was not to attack them partially, but to overwhelm them at once, by the weight of some general principle or presumption, some universal argument, which comprehended, or might be applied to, all the points contested between the churches. They imitated the conduct of those military leaders,

Sacræ Scripturæ unico lucrandi a Pontificiis plurimas in partes Lutheranorum detecta, &c., was refuted in the most satisfactory manner by Calixtus, in his Digressio de Arte Novâ contra Nihusium, a curious and learned work, published at Helmstadt in 1634.

☞ [e] That is to say, in other words, that they pleaded *prescription* in favor of popery, and acted like one who, having been for a long time in possession of an estate, refuses to produce his title, and requires that those who question it should prove its insufficiency or falsehood.

[f] For a more ample account of these methods of controversy, and of others used by the church of Rome, the curious reader may consult Fred. Spanheim's Strictur. ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti, tom. iii. op. par. ii. p. 1037.—Heidegger's Histor. Papatus, Period. vii. sect. ccxviii. p. 316.—Walchii Introduct. ad Controvers. Theolog. tom. ii.—Weismanni Histor. Ecclesiastica, sæc. xvii. p. 726.

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☞ [g] This method certainly was not the invention of Nicole, for it seems to differ little, if at all, from the method of cardinal Richelieu. We may observe farther, that Richelieu seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Dr. Mosheim has placed him.

[h] Nicole is supposed to be the author of a book entitled, "Prejugez legitimes contre les Calvinistes," which was answered in a satisfactory manner by several learned men. ☞ It is very remarkable, that some of the principal arguments employed in this book against the protestants, are precisely the same that the deists make use of to shew that it is impossible for the general body of Christians to believe upon a rational foundation. The learned Claude, in his Defence of the Reformation, shewed in a demonstrative manner, that the difficulties arising from the incapacity of the multitude to examine the grounds and principles of the protestant religion, are much less than those which occur to a papist, whose faith is founded, not on the plain word of God alone, but on the dictates of tradition, on the decrees of councils, and a variety of antiquated records that are beyond his reach. The protestant divine goes still farther, and proves that there are arguments in favor of Christianity and the Protestant faith, that are intelligible by the lowest capacity, and, at the same time, sufficient to satisfy an upright and unprejudiced mind.

tive charges, the mouths of their adversaries must be stopped, and the cause of Rome and its pontiff triumph [i]. The famous Bossuet stood foremost in this class, which he peculiarly adorned, by the superiority of his genius and the insinuating charms of his eloquence. His arguments, indeed, were more specious than solid, and the circumstances from which they were drawn were imprudently chosen. From the variety of opinions which had taken place among the protestant doctors, and the changes which had happened in their discipline and doctrine, he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the church founded by Luther was not the true church; and, on the other hand, from the perpetual sameness and uniformity that prevailed in the tenets and worship of the church of Rome, he pretended to prove its divine original [k]. Such an argument must indeed surprise, coming from a man of learning, who could not be ignorant of the

[i] Fred. Spanhemii Diss. de Præscriptione, in Rebus Fidei, adversus novos Methodistas," tom. iii. par. ii. op. p. 1079.

[k] This is the purpose of Bossuet's Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, which was published in 1688, and is still considered by the catholics as one of the strongest bulwarks of popery. Let them go on in their delusions, and boast of this famous champion and defender; but, if they have any true zeal for the cause he defends, or any regard for the authority of the supreme head of *their* church, they will bury in oblivion that maxim of this *their* champion, that 'the church, which frequently modifies, varies, and changes its doctrines, is destitute of the direction of the Holy Spirit.' ☞ This observation might be verified by numberless instances of variations in the doctrine and worship of Rome, that must strike every one who has any tolerable acquaintance with the history of that church. But, without going any farther than one instance, we may observe that Bossuet had a striking proof of the variations of his own church, in the different reception that his Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith met with from different persons, and at different times. It was disapproved by one pope, and approved by another; it was applauded by the archbishop of Rheims, and condemned by the university of Louvain; it was censured by the Sorbonne in 1671, and declared by the same society a true exposition of the catholic faith in the following century. For a full proof of the truth of these and other variations, see Wake's Exposition, &c.—the Biblioth. Univ. of Le Clerc, tom. xi. p. 438. —The General Dictionary, at the article Wake, in the note, and the Biblioth. des Sciences, tom. xviii.

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Deserters from the Protestant to the Romish church.

XVI. These various attempts of the votaries of Rome, though they gave abundant exercise to the activity and vigilance of the protestant doctors, were not, however, attended with any important revolutions, or any considerable fruits. Some princes, indeed, and a few learned men, were thereby seduced into the communion of that church, from whose superstition and tyranny their ancestors had delivered themselves and others; but these defections were only personal, nor could any people or province be persuaded to follow these examples. Among the more illustrious deserters of the Protestant religion, we may place Christina, queen of Sweden [l], who was a princess of great spirit and genius, but was precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferred her ease, pleasure, and liberty, to all other considerations [m]; Wolfgang William, count Palatine of

[l] See Archenholtz, Memoires de la Reine Christine, which contain a variety of agreeable and interesting anecdotes.

☞ [m] The candid and impartial writer, mentioned in the preceding note, has given an ample account of the circumstances that attended this queen's change of religion, and of the causes that might have contributed to determine her to a step so unexpected and inexcusable. It was neither the subtilty of Des-Cartes, nor the dexterity of Canut, that brought about this event, as Baillet would persuade us. The true state of the case seems to have been this: Christina, having had her sentiments of religion in general considerably perverted by the licentious insinuations of her favorite Bourdelot, was prepared for embracing any particular religion, that pleasure, interest, or ambition, should recommend to her. Upon this foundation, the Jesuits Macedo, Malines, and Cassati, under the immediate protection of Pimentel, and encouraged by the courts of Rome, Spain, and Portugal,

the Rhine; Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, prince of Hesse [n]; John Frederic, duke of Brunswick; and Frederic Augustus, king of Poland.

The learned men that embraced the communion of the church of Rome were, baron Boineburg, secretary to the elector of Mentz, and a zealous patron of erudition and genius [o], Christopher Ranzow, a knight of Holstein [p], Caspar Scioppius, Peter Bertius, Christopher Besold, Ulric Hunnius, Nicolas Stenon, a Danish physician, of great reputation in his profession, John Philip Pfeiffer, professor at Konigsberg, Luke Holstenius, Peter Lambecius, Henry Blumius, professor at Helmstadt, a man of learning, and of excessive vanity [q], Daniel Nesselius, Andrew Frommius, Barthold Nihusius, Christopher Hellwigius,

employed their labors and dexterity in the conversion of this princess, whose passion for Italy, together with that taste for the fine arts and the precious remains of antiquity, which rendered her desirous of sojourning there, may have contributed not a little to make her embrace the religion of that country.

[n] This learned and well-meaning prince was engaged, by the conversation and importunities of Valerius Magnus, a celebrated monk of the Capuchin order, to embrace popery, in 1651. See Gruberi Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum, tom. i. p. 27, 35. Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. i. p. 216.—It is, however, to be observed, that this prince, with Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunswick, and several others, who went over to the church of Rome, did not go over to *that* church of Rome which is now exhibited to us in the odious forms of superstition and tyranny, but to another kind of church, which, perhaps, never existed but in their idea, and which at least has long ceased to exist. That this was the case appears evidently from the theological writings of prince Ernest.

[o] This eminent man, who had more learning than philosophy, and who was more remarkable for the extent of his memory than for the rectitude of his judgement, followed the example of the prince of Hesse, in 1653. See Gruberi Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum, in which his letters, and those of Conringius, are published, tom. i.

[p] See Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. i. p. 520.

[q] Blumius deserted the protestant church in 1654.—See Burckhardi Historia Biblioth. Augustæ, par. iii. p. 223.—Gruberi Comm. Epist. tom. i. p. 41, 95, &c. In some of these letters he is called Florus, probably in allusion to his German name Blum, which signifies a *flower*.

CENT. XVII. Matthew Prætorius, and a few others of inferior rank in the learned world. But these conversions, when considered with the motives that produced them, will be found, in *reality,* less honorable to the church of Rome than they are *in appearance;* for if, from this list of princes and learned men, we efface those whom the temptations of adversity, the impulse of avarice and ambition, the suggestions of levity, the effects of personal attachments, the power of superstition upon a feeble and irresolute mind, and other motives of like merit, engaged to embrace the Romish religion, these proselytes will be reduced to a number too small to excite the envy of the protestant churches [r].

The Romish church-interest loses ground in the East.

XVII. The Christian churches in the East, which were not dependent on the yoke of Rome, did not stand less firm against the attempts of the papal missionaries than those of Europe. The pompous accounts which several Roman catholic writers have given of the wonderful success of the missionaries among the Nestorians and Monophysites, are little else than splendid fables, designed to amuse and dazzle the multitude; and many of the wisest and best of the Romish doctors acknowlege, that they ought to be considered in no other light. As little credit is to be given to those who mention the strong propensity discovered by several of the heads and superintendants of the Christian sects in those remote regions, to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff [s]. It is evident, on the contrary, that Rome,

[r] See, for a particular account of these proselytes to popery, Weisman's Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii. p. 738.—Walchius' Introductio in Controversias, tom. ii. p. 728.—Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer Historie, par. ii. p. 912, and other writers of civil and literary history.

[s] See the remarks made by Chardin in several places of the last edition of his travels. See also what Cerri, in his Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine, says of the Armenians and Copts.—It is true that, among these sects, the papal missionaries sometimes form congregations that are obedient to the see of Rome; but these congregations are poor, and composed only of a very small number of individuals. Thus the Capuchins, about the middle of the century now under consideration, founded a small congregation among the Monophysites of Asia, whose bishop resided at Aleppo. See Lequien, Oriens Christianus, tom. ii. p. 1408.

in two remarkable instances, suffered a considerable diminution of its influence and authority in the eastern world during this century. One instance was the dreadful revolution in Japan, which has been already related, and which was unhappily followed by the total extinction of Christianity in that great monarchy. The other was the downfall of popery by the extirpation of its missionaries in the empire of Abyssinia, of which it will not be improper, or foreign from our purpose, to give here a brief account.

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed, under the most auspicious encouragement, the mission to Abyssinia that had been for some time interrupted and suspended; for the emperor Susneius or Socinios, who assumed the denomination of Sultan Segued, after the defeat of his enemies and his accession to the throne, covered the missionaries with his peculiar protection. Gained over to their cause, partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hopes of maintaining himself upon the throne by the succours of the Portuguese, he committed the whole government of the church to Alphonso Mendez, a missionary from that nation; created him patriarch of the Abyssinians; and, in 1626, not only swore, in a public manner, allegiance to the Roman pontiff, but also obliged his subjects to abandon the religious rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine and worship of the Romish church. But the new patriarch, by his intemperate zeal, imprudence, and arrogance, ruined the cause in which he had embarked, and occasioned the total subversion of the Roman pontiff's authority and jurisdiction, which seemed to have been established upon solid foundations. He began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish inquisition, he employed formidable threatenings and cruel tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their priests and ministers, held

CENT. XVII. the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be re-baptized, who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of Rome, as if their former religion had been nothing more than a system of Paganism[t]. This the Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult to the religious discipline of their ancestors, as even more provoking than the violence and barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these arbitrary and despotic proceedings in the church; he excited tumults and factions in the state, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor, and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits, and produced, at length, in 1631, a public declaration from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favor of popery, and left his subjects at liberty, either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of Rome. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent toward the Jesuits, considering the treatment which their in-

☞ [t] The reader will recollect, that the Abyssinians differ very little from the Copts, and acknowlege the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual chief. They receive the old and new Testament, the three first Councils, the Nicene Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions. Their first conversion to Christianity is attributed by some to the famous prime minister of their queen Candace, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: it is, however, probable, that the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected before the fourth century, when Frumentius, ordained bishop of Axuma by Athanasius, exercised his ministry among the people with the most astonishing success. They were esteemed a pure church before they fell into the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus; and even since that period they still form a purer church than that of Rome.

solence and presumption had so justly deserved; but, in the following reign, much severer measures were employed against them. Basilides or Facilidas, the son of Segued, who succeeded his father in 1632, thought it expedient to free his dominions from these troublesome and despotic guests; and accordingly, in 1634, he banished from his territories the patriarch Mendez, with all the Jesuits and Europeans who belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman-catholic missionaries with excessive severity [u]. From this period the very name of Rome, its religion, and its pontiff, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance and the strictest attention, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories in disguise, and excite new tumults and commotions in the kingdom. The Roman pontiffs indeed made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost by the ill success and misconduct of the Jesuits. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no sooner discovered than

[u] See Ludolfi Histor. Æthiopica, lib. iii. cap. xii.—Geddes' Church History of Ethiopia, p. 233.—La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 79.—Lobo, Voyage d'Abyssinie, p. 116, 130, 144, with the additions of Le Grand, p. 173, and the fourth Dissertation that is subjoined to the second volume. In this dissertation, Le Grand, himself a Roman Catholic, makes the following remark upon the conduct of the patriarch Mendez: "It is to be wished that the patriarch had never intermeddled in such a variety of affairs" (*by which mitigated expression the author means his ambitious attempts to govern in the cabinet as well as in the church*), "or carried his authority to "such a height, as to behave in Ethiopia as if he had been in a "country where the inquisition was established: for, by this "conduct, he set all the people against him, and excited in "them such an aversion to the Roman Catholics in general, and "to the Jesuits in particular, as nothing has been hitherto able "to diminish, and which subsists in its full force to this day." ☞ The third book of La Croze's History, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. Lockman into English, and inserted in The Travels of the Jesuits, vol. i. p. 308, &c. as also is Poncet's Voyage, mentioned in the following note.

CENT. XVII. they were stoned to death. They afterwards employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence and intercession of Louis XIV. to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire [w]; but, as far as we have learned, neither the pontiffs nor their votaries have yet been able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the church of Rome [x].

[w] These projects are mentioned by Cerri, and by Le Grand in his Supplement to Lobo's Itinerarium Æthiopicum *. The reader who would know what credit is to be given to what the Jesuits say of the attachment and veneration which the Asiatic and African Christians express for the church of Rome, will do well to compare the relations of Le Grand, who was a Roman Catholic, and no enemy to the Jesuits, and who drew his relations from the most authentic records, with those of Poncet, a French physician, who went into Ethiopia in 1698, accompanied by Father Brevedent, a Jesuit, who died during the voyage. This comparison will convince every ingenuous and impartial inquirer, that the accounts of the Jesuits are not to be trusted, and that they surpass the ancient Carthaginians themselves in the art of deceiving. Poncet's Voyage is published in the fourth volume of the Jesuitical work, entitled, Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes des Missions Etrangeres.

[x] Lafitau and Reboulet, who have composed each a Life of pope Clement XI., tell us, that the emperor of Abyssinia desired that pontiff, in 1703, to send to his court missionaries and legates to instruct him and his people, and to receive their submission to the see of Rome. These biographers go still farther, and assert that this monarch actually embraced the communion of Rome, in 1712. But these assertions are idle fictions, forged by the Jesuits and their creatures. It is well known, on the contrary, that, not many years ago, the edict prohibiting the entrance of Europeans within the Abyssinian frontier, was still in force, and was executed with the greatest severity. Even the Turks are included in this prohibition; and what is still

☞ * Father Lobo, who resided nine years in Ethiopia, has given an elegant and lively, though simple and succinct description, of that vast empire, in his Itinerarium Æthiopicum. This itinerary was translated into French by M. Le Grand, and enriched by him with curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Dr. Mosheim sometimes quotes the Itinerarium, under the title of Voyage d'Abissinie, referring to Le Grand's French translation of it.

CENT. XVII.

The Papal authority loses ground.

XVIII. Hitherto we have confined our views to the external state and condition of this church, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will be now proper to change the scene, to consider this establishment in its internal constitution, and to review its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of that extensive authority which they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, interfered openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by the thunder of their anathemas, and, imposing burthensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honored with the same pompous titles and denominations, frequently found, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations daily diminished. For now almost all the princes and states of Europe had adopted the important maxim, formerly peculiar to the French nation; that the power of the Roman

more remarkable, the Egyptian Monophysites, who have once entered within the Abyssinian territories, are not allowed to return into their own country. All these facts are confirmed by a modern writer of the most unquestionable authority, the learned and worthy M. Maillet, the French consul-general in Egypt, and ambassador from Louis XIV. to the emperor of Abyssinia, in his Description de l'Egypte, par. i. p. 325. See also Le Grand's Supplement. The last-mentioned author, after relating all the attempts that have been made in our times, by the French nation and the pope, to introduce Romish priests into Abyssinia, adds, that all such attempts must appear vain and chimerical to all those who have any knowlege of the empire of Abyssinia, and of the spirit and character of its inhabitants; his words are: 'Toutes ces entreprises paroitront chimériques à ceux qui connoitront l'Abissinie et les Abissins."

CENT. XVII. pontiff is confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs. In the schools, indeed, and colleges of Roman-catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives were displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the assertors of the power and pre-eminence of the Roman see, and who give themselves out for the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Even in the courts of sovereign princes, very flattering terms and high-sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But as it happens in other cases, that men's actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of *Rome's holy father*. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and, when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no farther than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence.

The rupture between Paul V. and the Venetians.

XIX. This the pontiffs learned by disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured, in this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The conduct of Paul V. and its consequences furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant pontiff, in 1606, laid the republic of Venice under an interdict. The reasons alleged for this insolent proceeding, were the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, and

the promulgation of two edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowlege and consent of the senate, while the other forbade the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favor of the clergy, without the express approbation of the republic. The assembled senators received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent their clergy from executing the interdict, by an act prohibiting that cessation of public worship, and that suspension of the sacraments, which the pope had so imperiously commanded. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchins, who intended to obey the orders of the pope, in opposition to their express commands. In the process of this controversy they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious Paul Sarpi, of the order of Servites, to demonstrate, on one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine, on the other, after an accurate and impartial inquiry, the true limits of the pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong and cogent, that Baronius, and the other learned advocates whom the pope had employed in supporting his pretensions and defending his measures, struggled in vain against irresistible evidence. In the mean time all things tended toward a rupture; and Paul was assembling his forces in order to make war upon the Venetians, when Henry IV., king of France, interposed as mediator [y], and adjusted a peace between the contending parties, on conditions not very honorable to the ambitious

☞ [y] It must be observed here, that it was at the request of the pope, and not of the Venetians, that Henry acted as mediator. The Venetians had nothing to fear. Their cause was considered as the common cause of all the sovereign states of Italy: and the dukes of Urbino, Modena, and Savoy, had already offered their troops and services to the republic. The rash pontiff, perceiving the storm that was gathering against him, took refuge in the French monarch's intercession.

CENT. XVII. pontiff[z]; for the Venetians could not be persuaded either to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued against the court of Rome on this occasion, or to recall the Jesuits from their exile[a]. It is re-

[z] Beside De Thou and other historians, see Daniel's Histoire de la France, tom. x.—Heidegger's Historia Papatus, period. vii. sect. ccxx.—Jaeger's Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii. decenn. i. —More especially the writings of the famous Paul Sarpi, commonly called Fra-Paolo, and of the other divines and canonists that defended the cause of the republic, deserve a careful and attentive perusal; for these writings were composed with such solidity, learning, and eloquence, that they produced remarkable effects, and contributed much to open the eyes of several princes and magistrates, and to prevent their submitting blindly and implicitly, as their ancestors had done, to the imperious dictates of the pontiffs. Among the most masterly pieces written in this cause, we must place Fra-Paolo's Istoria delle Cose passate entre Paolo V. è la Republ. di Venetia, published at Mirandola in 1624, and his Historia Interdicti Veneti, which was published at Cambridge in 1626, by bishop Bedell, who, during these troubles, had been chaplain to the English ambassador at Venice. Paul V., by forcing the Venetians to expose, in these admirable productions, his arrogance and temerity, on one hand, and many truths unfavorable to the pretensions of the popes on the other, was the occasion of the greatest perplexities and oppositions that the court of Rome had to encounter in after-times.

[a] When peace was concluded between the Venetians and the pope, in 1607, the Capuchins and the other ecclesiastics, who had been banished on account of their partiality to the cause of Rome, were all re-instated in their respective functions, except the Jesuits; and even the latter were recalled in 1657, under the pontificate of Alexander VII. in consequence of the earnest and importunate requests of Louis XIV. king of France, and several other princes, who gave the Venetians no rest until they re-admitted these dangerous guests into their territories. It is, nevertheless, to be observed, that the Jesuits never recovered the credit and influence they had formerly enjoyed in that republic, nor, at this present time, are there any people of the Romish communion, among whom their society has less power than among the Venetians, who have never yet forgotten their rebellious behaviour during the quarrel now mentioned. See the Voyage Historique en Italie, Allemagne, Suisse (published at Amsterdam in 1736), tom. i. p. 291. It is farther worthy of observation, that, since this famous quarrel, the bulls and rescripts of the popes have just as much authority at Venice, as the senate judges consistent with the rules of wise policy, and the true interests and welfare of the community. For proof of this, we need go no farther than the respectable testimony of cardinal Henry Norris, who, in 1676, wrote to Magliabecchi in the following terms: *Poche Bulle passevano quelle acque verso la*

markable, that, at the time of this rupture, the senate entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the church of Rome, in which the ambassadors of England and Holland did all that was in their power to confirm that assembly. But many considerations of a momentous nature intervened to prevent the execution of this design, which, as it would seem, had not the approbation of the sagacious and prudent Father Paul, notwithstanding his aversion to the tyranny and maxims of the court of Rome [b].

The contest between the Roman pontiffs and the court of Portugal.

XX. Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution that distinguished the Venetians, their contest with the court of Rome, which began under the pontificate of Urban VIII. in 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs. The Portuguese, unable to bear any longer the tyranny and oppression of the Spanish government, threw off the yoke, and chose Don John, duke of Braganza, for their king. Urban and his successors obstinately refused, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing solicitations, both of the French and Portuguese, either to acknowlege Don John's title to the crown, or to confirm the bishops whom that prince had named to fill the vacant sees in Portugal. Hence it happened, that the greatest part of the kingdom remained for a long time without bishops. The pretended vicar of Christ upon earth, whose character

parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel Testamento di Fra-Paolo : i. e. Few papal Bulls pass the Po, or approach the coasts of the Adriatic sea ; the maxims bequeathed to the Venetians by Fra-Paolo, render this passage extremely difficult.

[b] This intention is particularly mentioned by Burnet, in his Life of Bishop Bedell, and by M. Courayer in his Defense de la Nouvelle Traduction de l'Histoire du Concile de Trente. The latter writer shews plainly, that Father Paul, though his sentiments differed in many points from the doctrine of the church of Rome, did not approve all the tenets received by the protestants, or suggest to the Venetians the idea of renouncing the Romish faith.

CENT. XVII. ought to set him above the fear of man, was so slavishly apprehensive of the resentment of the king of Spain, that, rather than offend that monarch, he violated the most solemn obligations of his station, by leaving such a number of churches without pastors and spiritual guides. The French, and other European courts, advised and exhorted the new king of Portugal to follow the noble example of the Venetians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new-created bishops might be confirmed, in spite of the pope, in their respective sees. Don John seemed disposed to listen to their counsels, and to act with resolution and vigor at this important crisis; but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable power of the court of inquisition, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment that the nation in general discovered for the person and authority of the pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before peace was concluded between Portugal and Spain, five-and-twenty years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of Clement IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of Portugal and Rome. It must, indeed, be observed, to the honor of the Portuguese, that, notwithstanding their superstitious attachment to the court of Rome, they vigorously opposed its ambitious pontiff in all his attempts to draw from this contest an augmentation of his power and authority in their kingdom; nor did the bishops permit, in their respective sees, any encroachment to be made, at this time, upon the privileges and rights enjoyed by their monarchs in former ages[c].

[c] See Geddes' History of the Pope's Behaviour toward Portugal, from 1641 to 1666, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. ii. p. 73—186.—The cause of the Portuguese, in this quarrel, is defended with great learning and sagacity by a French writer, whose name was Bullіald, in a book entitled, Pro Ecclesiis Lusitanis ad Clerum Gallicanum Libelli Duo.

XXI. There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted variance between the French monarchs and the pontiffs, which had often occasioned an open rupture, and which produced more than once that violent effect during this century. The greatest exertions of industry, artifice, and assiduous labor, were employed by the popes, during the whole of this period, to conquer the aversion that the French had conceived against the pretensions and authority of the court of Rome, and to undermine imperceptibly, and enervate and destroy by degrees, the liberties of the Gallican church. In this arduous and important enterprise the Jesuits acted a principal part, and seconded, with all their dexterity and craft, the designs of the aspiring pontiffs. But these attempts and stratagems were effectually defeated and disconcerted by the parliament of Paris, while many able pens exposed the tyranny and injustice of the papal claims. Richer, Launoy, Peter de Marca, Natalis Alexander, Elias du-Pin, and others, displayed their learning and talents in this contest, though with different degrees of merit. They appealed to the ancient decrees of the Gallican church, which they confirmed by recent authorities, and enforced by new and victorious arguments. It will naturally be thought, that these bold and respectable defenders of the rights and liberties, both of the church and state, were amply rewarded, for their generous labors, by peculiar marks of the approbation and protection of the court of France. But this was so far from being always the case, that they received, on the contrary, from time to time, several marks of its resentment and displeasure, designed to appease the rage and indignation of the threatening pontiff, whom it was thought expedient to treat sometimes with artifice and caution. Rome, however, gained little by this mild policy of the French court; for it has been always a prevailing maxim with the monarchs of that nation, that their prerogatives and pretensions are to be defended against the encroachments of the

CENT. XVII. The contests between the French nation and the Roman pontiffs,

CENT. XVII. pontiffs with as little noise and contention as possible, and that pompous memorials, and warm and vehement remonstrances, are to be carefully avoided, except in cases of urgent necessity [d]. Nor do these princes think it beneath their dignity to yield, more or less, to time and occasion, and even to pretend a great veneration for the orders and authority of the pontiffs, in order to obtain from them, by fair means, the immunities and privileges which they look upon as their due. But they are, nevertheless, constantly on their guard; and, as soon as they perceive the court of Rome taking advantage of their lenity to extend its dominion, and the lordly popes growing insolent in consequence of their mildness and submission, they then alter their tone, change their measures, and resume the language that becomes the monarchs of a nation, that could never bear the tyranny and oppression of the papal yoke. This appears evidently in the contests that arose between the courts of France and Rome, under the reign of Louis XIV., of which it will not be improper to give here some remarkable instances [e].

And more especially those of Louis XIV.

XXII. The first of these contests happened in the pontificate of Alexander VII., and arose from the temerity and insolence of his Corsican guards, who, in 1662, insulted the French ambassador and his lady, the duke and duchess of Crequi, at the instigation, as it is supposed, of the pope's nephews. Louis demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to his representative; and, on the pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off

☞ [d] It is with a view to this that Voltaire, speaking of the manner in which the court of France maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontiff, says, pleasantly, that "the king of "France kisses the pope's feet, and ties up his hands."

☞ [e] The long note [1] of the original, in which Dr. Mosheim has examined that interesting question, "Whether the papal authority gained or lost ground in France during the seventeenth century," is transposed by the translator into the text, and placed at the end of our author's account of the quarrels of Louis XIV. with the pope, where it comes in with the utmost propriety. See sect. xxiii.

for Italy, and to besiege the arrogant pontiff in his capital. Alexander, terrified by these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted pardon and absolution to the humble pontiff, and concluded a peace with him at Pisa, in 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at Rome, with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled by the French monarch. It is however to be observed, that, in this contest, Louis did not chastise Alexander, considered as head of the church, but as a temporal prince violating the law of nations[f]. Yet he shewed, on other occasions, that, when seriously provoked, he was as much disposed to humble papal as princely ambition, and that he feared the head of the church as little as the temporal ruler of the ecclesiastical state. This appeared evidently by the important and warm debate he had with Innocent XI. considered in his spiritual character, which began about the year 1678, and was carried on for several years with great animosity and contention. The subject of this controversy was a right called in France the *regale*, by which the French king, upon the death of a bishop, claimed the revenues and fruits of his see, and also discharged several parts[g] of the episcopal function, until a new bishop

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[f] See Jaegeri Histor. Eccles. sæc. xvii. decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180.—Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 134. *Edit. de Dresde*, 1753.—Archenholtz, Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. ii. p. 72.

☞ [g] The author means here undoubtedly the collation of all benefices, which became vacant in the diocese of a deceased bishop, before the nomination of his successor. The right of collation, in such cases, was comprehended in the *regale*. See note [i].

CENT. XVII. was elected. Louis was desirous that all the churches in his dominions should be subject to the *regale.* Innocent pretended, on the contrary, that this claim could not be granted with such universality; nor would he consent to any augmentation of the prerogatives of this nature, that had formerly been enjoyed by the kings of France. Thus the claims of the prince and the remonstrances of the pontiff, both urged with warmth and perseverance, formed a sharp and violent contest, which was carried on by both parties with spirit and resolution. The pontiff sent forth his bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by the terror of penal laws, and the authority of severe edicts against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the pope refused to confirm the bishops who were nominated by the king, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world, that the Gallican church could govern itself without the intervention of the Roman pontiff. Innocent, who was a man of a high spirit, and inflexibly obstinate in his purposes, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute and vigorous proceedings, but threatened the monarch with the divine vengeance, issued out bull after bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the vigor and intrepidity, which formerly distinguished the lordly rulers of the Romish church, were not yet totally extinguished[h]. This obstinacy, however, only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of Louis; and accordingly that monarch summoned the famous

[h] See Jo. Hen. Heideggeri Historia Papatus, period. vii. sect. cccxli. p. 555. ☞ Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 221. A great number of writers have either incidentally or professedly treated the subject of the *regale*, and have given ample accounts of the controversies it has occasioned. But no author has traced out more circumstantially the rise and progress of this famous right than cardinal Henry Norris, in his Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiast. p. 547.

assembly of bishops[i], which met at Paris in 1682. In this convocation, the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church, that declares the power of the pope to be merely spiritual, and also inferior to that of a general council, was drawn up anew in four propositions[j], which were solemnly adopted by the whole assembly, and were proposed to the whole body of the clergy and to all the universities throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule of faith. But even this respectable decision of the affair, which gave such a severe wound to the authority of Rome, did not shake the constancy of its resolute pontiff, or reduce him to silence[k].

☞ [i] This assembly, which consisted of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of the second order, extended the regale to all the churches in France without exception. The bishops, at the same time, thought proper to represent it to the king, as their humble opinion, that those ecclesiastics whom he should be pleased to nominate, during the vacancy of the see, to benefices attended with cure of souls, were bound to apply for induction and confirmation to the grand vicars appointed by the chapters.

☞ [j] These four propositions were to the following purport:

1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

2. That the decrees of the council of Constance, which represent the authority of general councils as superior to that of the pope, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

[k] This pope was far from keeping silence with respect to the famous propositions mentioned in the preceding note. As they were highly unfavorable to his authority, so he took care to have them refuted and opposed both in private and in public. The principal champion for the papal cause, on this occasion, was the cardinal Celestin Sfondrati, who, in 1684, published,

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Another contest arose, some time after the one now mentioned, between these princes, whose mutual jealousy and dislike inflamed their divisions. This new dispute broke out in 1687, when Innocent wisely resolved to suppress the franchises, and the right of asylum, which had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at Rome[l], and had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary for rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity for the most heinous malefactors. The marquis de Lavardin refused, in the name of the French king, to submit to this new regulation; and Louis took all the violent methods that pride and resentment could invent to oblige the pontiff to restore to his ambassador the immunities above-mentioned[m]. Innocent, on the other hand, persisted in his purpose, opposed the king's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be induced by any consideration to yield,

under the feigned name of Eugenius Lombardus, a treatise, entitled, Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum, et quatuor Propositionibus explicatum. This treatise was printed in Switzerland, as appears evidently by the character or form of the letters. Several German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish doctors, stood forth to support the tottering majesty of the pontiff against the court of France; and more especially the learned Nicolas du Bois, professor at Louvain, whose writings in defence of the pope are mentioned by Bossuet. But all these papal champions were defeated by the famous prelate last-mentioned, the learned and eloquent bishop of Meaux, who, by the king's special order, composed that celebrated work, which appeared in 1730, under the following title: Defensio Declarationis celeberrimæ, quam de Potestate Ecclesiasticâ sanxit Clerus Gallicanus, xix Martii, MDCLXXXII, Luxemburgi. The late publication of this defence was owing to the prospect of a reconciliation between the courts of France and Rome, after the death of Innocent; which reconciliation actually took place, and engaged Louis to prohibit the publication of this work.

☞ [l] This right of asylum extended much farther than the ambassador's palace, whose immunity the pope did not mean to violate; it comprehended a considerable extent of ground which was called a *quarter*, and undoubtedly gave occasion to great and flagrant abuses.

☞ [m] The marquis de Lavardin began his ambassy by entering Rome, surrounded with a thousand men in arms.

even in appearance, to his ambitious adversary [n]. CENT. XVII. His death, however, put an end to this long debate, which had proved really detrimental to both parties. His successors, being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseemly contests. They were not, indeed, so far unmindful of the papal dignity, and of the interests of Rome, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of *asylum* was suppressed with the king's consent; on the other the right of the *regale* was settled, with modifications [o]. The four famous propositions, relating to the pope's authority and jurisdiction, were softened, by the king's permission, in private letters addressed to the pontiff by certain bishops; but they were neither abrogated by the prince, nor renounced by the clergy: on the contrary, they still remain in force, and occupy an eminent place among the laws of the kingdom.

Whether the papal authority gained ground in this century.

XXIII. [p] Several protestant writers of great merit and learning, lament the accessions of power and authority which the Roman pontiffs are supposed to have gained in France during the course of this century. They tell us, with sorrow, that the Italian notions of the papal majesty and jurisdiction, which the French nation had, in former ages, looked upon with abhorrence, gained ground now, and had infected not only the nobility and clergy, but almost all ranks and orders of men; and hence they conclude, that the famous rights and liberties of the

[n] See Jaegeri Historia Ecclesiastic. sæc. xvii. decenn. ix. p. 19, and Legatio Lavardini; but, above all, the Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. ii. p. 248; for Christina took part in this contest, and adopted the cause of the French monarch.

[o] See Fleury's Institutions du Droit Ecclesiastique François, which excellent work is translated into Latin. ☞ Dr. Mosheim refers to p. 454 of the Latin version.

[p] See note [c].

CENT. XVII. Gallican church have suffered greatly by the perfidious stratagems of the Jesuits. They are led into this opinion by certain measures that were taken by the French court, and which seemed to favor the pretensions of the Roman pontiff. They are confirmed in it by the declamations of the Jansenists, and other modern writers among the French, who complain of the high veneration that was paid to the papal bulls during this century; of the success of the Jesuits in instilling into the mind of the king and his counsellors the maxims of Rome, and an excessive attachment to its bishop; of the violence and ill treatment that were offered to all those who firmly adhered to the doctrine and maxims of their forefathers; and of the gradual attempts that were made to introduce the formidable tribunal of the inquisition into France. But it will perhaps appear, on mature consideration, that too much stress is laid, by many, on these complaints, and that the rights and privileges of the Gallican church were in this century, and are actually at this day, in the same state and condition in which we find them during those earlier ages, of which the writers and declaimers abovementioned incessantly boast. It might be asked, where are the victories that are said to have been obtained over the French by the popes, and which some protestant doctors, lending a credulous ear to the complaints of the Jansenists and Appellants, think they perceive with the utmost clearness? I am persuaded that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory answer in the affirmative to this question.

It is true, indeed, that, as the transactions of government, in general, are now carried on in France, with more subtilty, secresy, and art, than in former times, so, in particular, the stratagems and machinations of the pontiffs have been opposed and defeated with more artifice and less noise, than in those more rude and unpolished ages, when almost every contest was terminated by brutal force and open violence.

The opposition between the court of France and the bishop of Rome still subsists; but the manner of conducting it is changed; and the contests are carried on with less clamor, though not with less animosity and vigor, than in former times. This new and prudent manner of disputing is not agreeable to the restless, fiery, and impatient temper of the French, who have an irresistible propensity to noisy, clamorous, and expeditious proceedings; and hence undoubtedly arise all the complaints we have heard, and still hear, of the decline of the liberties of the Gallican church, in consequence of the growing influence and perfidious counsels of the Jesuits. If those, however, who are accustomed to make these complaints, would for a moment suspend their prejudices, and examine with attention the history, and also the present state of their country, they would soon perceive that their ecclesiastical *liberties* [q], instead of declining, or of being neglected by their monarchs, are maintained and preserved with greater care, resolution, and foresight, than ever. It must indeed be acknowleged, that, in France, there are multitudes of cringing slaves, who basely fawn upon the pontiffs, exalt their prerogatives, revere their majesty, and, through the dictates of superstition, interest, or ambition, are ever ready to hug the papal chain, and submit their necks blindly to the yoke of those spiritual tyrants; but it may be proved, by the most undoubted facts, and by innumerable examples, that these servile creatures of the pope abounded as much in France in former ages as they do at this day; and it must be also considered, that it is not by the counsels of this slavish tribe, that the springs of

☞ [q] It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that by these *liberties* we do not mean that rational and Christian liberty which entitles every individual to follow the light of his own conscience and the dictates of his own judgement in religious matters; for no such liberty is allowed in France. The liberties of the Gallican church consist in the opposition which that church has made, at different times, to the overgrown power of the Roman pontiff, and to his pretended *personal* infallibility.

CENT. XVII. government are moved, or the affairs of state and church transacted. It must be farther acknowleged, that the Jesuits have attained a very high degree of influence and authority [r], and sometimes have credit enough to promote measures that are by no means consistent with the rights of the Gallican church, and must consequently be considered as heavy grievances by the patrons of the ancient ecclesiastical liberty. But here it may be observed, on one hand, that many such measures were proposed and followed before the rise of the Jesuits; and, on the other, that many affairs of great consequence are daily transacted in a manner highly displeasing and detrimental to that society, and extremely disagreeable to the Roman pontiffs. If it be alleged, that those who defend with learning and judgement the ancient doctrines and maxims of the Gallican church, scarcely escape public censure and punishment, and that those who maintain them with vehemence and intemperate zeal are frequently rewarded with exile or a prison; and that even the most humble and modest patrons of these doctrines are left in obscurity without encouragement or recompence; all this must be granted. But it must be considered, that the cause they maintain, and the ancient doctrines and maxims they defend, are not condemned, nor even deserted; the matter is only this, that the prince and his ministry have fallen upon a new method of maintaining and supporting them. It appears to them much more conducive to public peace and order, that the stratagems and attempts of the pontiffs should be opposed and defeated by secret exertions of resolution and vigor, without noise or ostentation, than by learned productions and clamorous disputes; which, for the most

☞ [r] Dr. Mosheim wrote this in 1753, before the suppression of the order of Jesuits in France. The downfall of that society, and the circumstances that attended it, seem both to illustrate and confirm his judicious notion with respect to the degree of credit and influence which the popes have had in that kingdom for some time past.

part, excite factions in the kingdom, inflame the spirits of the people, throw the state into tumult and confusion, exasperate the pontiffs, and alienate them still more and more from the French nation. In the mean time the doctors and professors, who are placed in the various seminaries of learning, are left at liberty to instruct the youth in the ancient doctrine and discipline of the church, and to explain and inculcate those maxims and laws by which, in former times, the papal authority was restrained and confined within certain limits. If these laws and maxims are infringed, and if even violent methods are employed against those who firmly adhere to them, this happens very rarely, and never but when their suspension is required by some case of extreme necessity, or by the prospect of some great advantage to the community. Besides, those who sit at the political helm, always take care to prevent the pope's reaping much benefit from this suspension or neglect of the ancient laws and maxims of the church. This circumstance, which is of so much importance in the present question, must appear evident to such as will be at the pains to look into the history of the debates that attended, and the consequences that followed, the reception of the *Bull Unigenitus* in France, than which no papal edict could seem more repugnant to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. In the business of this bull, as in other transactions of a like nature, the court proceeded upon this political maxim, that a smaller evil is to be submitted to, when a greater may be thereby prevented.

In a word, the kings of France have almost always treated the Roman pontiffs as the heroes, who are said in pagan story to have descended into Tartarus, behaved toward the triple-jawed guardian of that lower region: sometimes they offered a soporiferous cake to suppress his grumbling and menacing tone; at others they terrified him with their naked swords, and the din of arms; and this with a view to stop his barking, and to obtain the liberty of directing

CENT. XVII. their course in the manner they thought proper. There is nothing invidious designed by this comparison, which certainly represents, in a lively manner, the caresses and threatenings that were employed by the French monarchs, according to the nature of the times, the state of affairs, the characters of the pontiffs, and other incidental circumstances, in order to render the court of Rome favorable to their designs. We have dwelt, perhaps, too much upon this subject; but we thought it not improper to undeceive many protestant writers, who, too much influenced by the bitter complaints and declamations of certain Jansenists, and not sufficiently instructed in the history of these ecclesiastical contentions, have formed erroneous notions concerning that point which we have here endeavoured to examine and discuss.

The state of the Roman clergy.

XXIV. The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior orders of the Romish clergy, were rather increased than diminished during this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation to eminent learning, or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connexions of blood, and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and, what was still more deplorable, their promotion was sometimes obtained by their vices. Their lives were such, as might be expected from persons who had risen in the church by such unseemly means; for, had they been obliged by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the Gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did [s]. Some

[s] The reader may see these disagreeable accounts of the corruptions of the clergy confirmed by a great number of unexceptionable testimonies, drawn from the writings of the most eminent doctors of the Romish church, in the Memoires de Port Royal, tom. ii. p. 308.

indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a true Christian zeal, in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerted their utmost vigor and activity, in opposing the vices of the sacred order in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare cultivators of virtue and piety were either ruined by the resentment and stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support which were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes. The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent, instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowlege, that, among the bishops and inferior clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness with which the sacred order was chargeable, it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the manners of the clergy, or, at least, to oblige them to observe the rules of external decency in their conduct and conversation. It is however matter of surprise, that these pontiffs did not perceive the insurmountable obstacles to the success of their counsels, and the fruits of their wise and salutary edicts, that arose from the internal constitution of the Romish church, and the very nature of the papal government; for, if the pontiffs were even divinely inspired, and really infallible, yet, unless this inspiration and infallibility were attended with a miraculous power, and with the supernatural privilege of being present in many places at the same time, it is not conceivable how

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The state of the monastic orders.

XXV. Though the monks, in several places, behaved with much more circumspection and decency than in former times, yet they had every where departed, in a great measure, from the spirit of their founders, and the primitive laws of their respective institutions. About the commencement of this age, their convents and colleges made a most wretched and deplorable figure, as we learn from the accounts of the wisest and most learned, even of their own writers. But, in the progress of the century, several attempts were made to remove this disorder. Some wise and pious Benedictines, in France and other countries, reformed several monasteries of their order, and endeavoured to bring them back, as near as was possible, to the laws and discipline of their founders[t]. Their example was followed by the monks of Clugni, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans, and Franciscans[u]. It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic orders into two general classes. One comprehends the reformed

[t] Le Bœuf, Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre, tom. ii. p. 513, where an account is given of the first *reforms* made in the convents during this century.—See Martenne's Voyage Literaire de deux Benedictins, par. ii. p. 97.

[u] There is an account of all the convents reformed in this century, in Helyot's Histoire des Ordres, tom. v. vi. vii. to which, however, several interesting circumstances may be added, by consulting other writers. The reform of the monks of Clugni is amply described by the Benedictines, in the Gallia Christiana, tom. vii. p. 544. The same authors speak of the reform of the Regular Canons of St. Augustin, tom. vii. p. 778, 787, 790.—For an account of that of the Cistercians, see Mabillon's Annal. Benedict. tom. vi. p. 121; and the Voyage Literaire de deux Benedictins, tom. i. p. 7; tom. ii. p. 133, 229, 269, 303. The Cistercians were no sooner reformed, than they used their most zealous endeavours for the reformation of the whole society (i. e. of the Benedictine order), but in vain. See Meaupou's Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe, tom. i.

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monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness and corruption of manners which had formerly dishonored their societies, lead more strict and regular lives, and discover in their conduct a greater regard to the primitive laws of their order. The other is composed of the un-reformed orders, who, forgetting the spirit of their founders, and the rules of their institutes, spend their days in ease and pleasure, and have no taste for the austerities and hardships of the monastic life. The latter class is evidently the most numerous; and the majority, even of the reformed monks, not only fall short of that purity of manners which their rules enjoin, but are moreover gradually and imperceptibly relapsing into their former indolence and disorder.

The congregation of St. Maur.

XXVI. Among the reformed monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or congregations, who surpass all the other monastic orders, both in the excellence and utility of their rules and constitution, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhere to them. Of these societies the most distinguished is the congregation of St. Maur [w], which was founded in 1620 by the express order of Gregory XV., and was enriched by Urban VIII. in 1627, with various donations and privileges. It does not indeed appear, that even this society adheres strictly to the spirit and maxims of Benedict, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of

[w] See the Gallia Christiana Nova, an admirable work, composed by the Congregation of St. Maur, tom. vii. p. 474.—Helyot, tom. vi. cap. xxxvii. p. 256. The letters patent of Gregory XV., by which the establishment of this famous congregation was approved and confirmed, were criticised with great severity and rigor by Launoy, that formidable scourge of all the monastic orders, in his Examen Privil. S. Germani, tom. iii. p. i. op. p. 303. The same author (in his Assert. Inquisit. in priv. S. Medardi, tom. iii. op.) gives an account of the dissensions that arose in this congregation, immediately after its establishment; but this account savors too much of that partiality with which he is chargeable, whenever he treats of monastic affairs.

CENT. XVII. excellent rules and institutions that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labors of its members. For, in this congregation, a select number of men of genius and talent are set apart for the study of sacred and profane literature, and more especially of history and antiquities; and these learned members are furnished with all the means and materials of knowlege in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can tend to facilitate their labors and render them successful[x]. It must be abundantly

[x] The Benedictines celebrate, in pompous terms, the exploits of this congregation in general, and more especially its zealous and successful labors in restoring order, discipline, and virtue, in a great number of monasteries, which were falling into ruin through the indolence and corruption of their licentious members; see the "Voyage de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur," tom. i. p. 16; tom. ii. p. 47. This eulogy, though perhaps exaggerated, is not entirely unmerited; and there is no doubt that the Benedictines have contributed much to restore the credit of the monastic orders. There are, nevertheless, several classes of ecclesiastics in the Romish church, who are no well-wishers to this learned congregation, though their dislike be founded on different reasons. In the first class, we may place a certain number of ambitious prelates, whose artful purposes have been disappointed by this ingenious fraternity; for the monks of St. Maur, having turned their principal study toward ancient history and antiquities of every kind, and being perfectly acquainted with ancient records, diplomas, and charters, are thus peculiarly qualified to maintain their possessions, their jurisdictions, and privileges, against the litigious pretensions of the bishops, and have, in fact, maintained them with more success than their order could do in former times, when destitute of learning, or ill furnished with the knowlege of ancient history. The Jesuits form the second class of adversaries, with whom this learned congregation has been obliged to struggle; for, their lustre and reputation being considerably eclipsed by the numerous and admirable productions of these Benedictines, they have used their utmost endeavours to sink, or at least to diminish, the credit of such formidable rivals. See Simon's Lettres Choisies, tom. iv. p. 36, 45. These Benedictines have a third set of enemies, who are instigated by superstition; and it is not improbable, that this superstition may be accompanied with a certain mixture of envy. To understand this fully, it must be observed, that the learned monks, of whom we are now speaking, have substituted an assiduous application to the culture of philology and literature in the place of that bodily and manual labor, which the rule of St. Benedict pre-

known, to those who have any acquaintance with the history and progress of learning in Europe, what signal advantages the republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous Congregation, whose numerous and admirable productions have cast a great light upon the various branches of philology and the *belles lettres*, and whose researches have embraced the whole circle of science, philosophy excepted[y].

XXVII. Though these pious attempts to reform the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects they produced, even in those places where

scribes to his followers. The more robust, healthy, and vigorous monks, indeed, are obliged to employ a certain portion of the day in working with their hands; but those of a weaker constitution, and superior genius, are allowed to exchange bodily for mental labor, and, instead of cultivating the lands or gardens of the convent, to spend their days in the pursuit of knowlege, both human and divine. The lazy monks envy this bodily repose; and the superstitious and fanatical ones, who are vehemently prejudiced in favor of the ancient monastic discipline, behold with contempt these learned researches as unbecoming the monastic character, since they tend to divert the mind from divine contemplation. This superstitious and absurd opinion was maintained with peculiar warmth and vehemence, by Armand John Bouthillier de Rance, abbot of La Trappe, in his book des Devoirs Monastiques; upon which the Benedictines employed Mabillon, the most learned of their fraternity, to defend their cause, and to expose the reveries of the abbot in their proper colors. This he did with remarkable success, in his famous book, de Studiis Monasticis, which was published in 1691, passed through many editions, and was translated into different languages. Hence arose that celebrated question, which was long debated with great warmth and animosity in France;—"How far a monk may, consistently with his character, apply himself to the study of literature?" There is an elegant and interesting history of this controversy given by Vincent Thuillier, a most learned monk of the congregation of St. Maur; see the Opera Posthuma of Mabillon and Ruinart, tom. i. p. 365—425.

[y] The curious reader will find an account of the authors and learned productions with which the congregation of St. Maur has enriched the republic of letters, in Ph. le Cerf's Bibliotheque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congregation de St. Maur; and also in Bernard Pez's Bibliotheca Benedictino-Maurina.—These Benedictines still maintain their literary fame by the frequent publications of laborious and learned works both in sacred and profane literature.

CENT. XVII. they had succeeded most, came far short of that perfection of austerity that had seised the imaginations of a set of persons, whose number is considerable in the Romish church, though their credit be small, and their severity be generally looked upon as excessive and disgusting. These rigid censors, having always in their eyes the ancient discipline of the monastic orders, and being bent on reducing the modern convents to that austere discipline, looked upon the changes above-mentioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged, by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole time in prayer, tears, contemplation, and silence; in the perusal of holy books, and the hardships of bodily labor: they even went so far as to maintain, that all other designs and occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were entirely foreign from the monastic vocation, and, on that account, vain and sinful in persons of that order. This severe plan of monastic discipline was recommended by several persons, whose obscurity put it out of their power to influence many in its behalf; but it was also adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in some parts of France [z], and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of Port Royal, where it has subsisted from the year 1618 to our time [a]. These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in the imitation of this austere model; but they were all surpassed by the famous Bouthillier de Rance, abbot de la Trappe [b], who, with the most

[z] See the Mémoires de Port Royal, tom. ii. p. 601.—Martin Barcos, the most celebrated Jansenist of this century, introduced this austere rule of discipline into the monastery of St. Cyran, of which he was abbot. See the Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. p. 132, and Moleon's Voyages Liturgiques, p. 135: but, after the death of this famous abbot, the monks of his cloister relapsed into their former disorder, and resumed their former manners. See the Voyage de deux Benedictins, tom. i.

[a] Helyot, tom. v. chap. xliv. p. 455.

☞ [b] This illustrious abbot shewed very early an extraordinary genius for the *belles lettres*. At the age of ten, he was

ardent zeal, and indefatigable labor, attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline, in all its austere and shocking perfection. This abbot, so illustrious by his birth, and so remarkable for his extraordinary devotion, was so happy as to vindicate his fraternity from the charge of excessive superstition, which the Jansenists had drawn upon themselves by the austerity of their monastic discipline; and yet his society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cistercians, whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications, and self-denial. This order still subsists, under the denomination of the Reformed Bernardins of La Trappe, and has several monasteries both in Spain and Italy; but, if credit may be given to the accounts of writers who seem to be well informed, it is degenerating gradually from the austere and painful discipline of its famous founder [c].

master of several of the Greek and Roman poets, and understood Homer perfectly. At the age of twelve or thirteen, he gave an edition of Anacreon, with learned annotations. Some writers allege, that he had imbibed the voluptuous spirit of that poet, and that his subsequent application to the study of theology in the Sorbonne did not entirely extinguish it. They also attribute his conversion to a singular incident. They tell us, that returning from the country, after six weeks' absence from a lady whom he loved passionately (and not in vain), he went directly to her chamber by a back-stair, without having the patience to make any previous inquiry about her health and situation. On opening the door, he found the chamber illuminated, and hung with black; and, on approaching the bed, saw the most hideous spectacle that could be presented to his eyes, and the most adapted to mortify passion, inspire horror, and engender the gloom of melancholy devotion, in a mind too lively and too much agitated to improve this shocking change to the purposes of rational piety; he saw his fair mistress in her shroud —dead of the small-pox—all her charms fled—and succeeded by the ghastly lines of death, and the frightful marks of that terrible disorder.—From that moment, it is said, our abbot retired from the world, repaired to La Trappe, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate spot in the whole kingdom of France, and there spent the forty last years of his life in perpetual acts of the most austere piety.

[c] Marsolier's Vie de l'Abbé de la Trappe.—Meaupou's Vie de M. l'Abbé de la Trappe.—Felibien's Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe.—Helyot, tom. vi.

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New monastic orders founded.

XXVIII. The Romish church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame.

We begin with the Fathers of the Oratory of the Holy Jesus, a famous order, instituted by cardinal Berulle, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success, in the service both of state and church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This order, which, both in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in 1613, has produced a considerable number of persons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. Its members however have, on account of certain theological productions, been suspected of introducing new opinions; and this suspicion has not only been raised but is also industriously fomented and propagated by the Jesuits. The priests who enter into this society are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any fixed revenues or honors are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are, however, at liberty to retire whenever they think proper[d]. While they continue in the order, they are bound to perform, with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one point, namely, the task of preparing and qualifying them-

☞ [d] The Fathers, or Priests (as they also are called) of the Oratory, are not, properly speaking, religious, or monks, being bound by no vows, and their institute being purely ecclesiastical or sacerdotal.

selves and others for discharging them daily with greater perfection and more abundant fruits. If, therefore, we consider this order in the original end of its institution, its convents may, not improperly, be called the schools of *sacerdotal divinity*[e]. It is nevertheless to be observed, that, in later times, the Fathers of the Oratory have not confined themselves to this object, but have imperceptibly extended their original plan, and applied themselves to the study of polite literature and theology, which they teach with reputation in their colleges[f].

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After these *Fathers*, the next place is due to the Priests of the Missions; an order founded by Vincent de Paul (who obtained, not long ago, the honors of saintship), and formed into a regular congregation, in 1632, by pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society, by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations; first, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books, and other devout exercises; secondly, to employ eight months in the year in the villages, and, in general, among the country-people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent; thirdly, to inspect and govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to in-

[e] See Hubert de Cerisi, Vie du Cardinal Berullo, Fondateur de l'Oratoire de Jesus.—Morini Vita Antiq. prefixed to his Orientalia, p. 3, 110.—R. Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. ii. p. 60, and his Bibliotheque Critique, (published under the fictitious name of Saint Jorre) tom. iii. p. 303, 324, 330. For an account of the genius and capacity of Berulle, see Baillet's Vie de Richer, p. 220, 342.—Le Vassor's Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 397.—Helyot, tom. viii. chap. x.—Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum, tom. vii. p. 976.

☞ [f] *The Fathers of the Oratory* will now be obliged, in a more particular manner, to extend their plan, since, by the suppression of the Jesuits in France, the education of youth is committed to them.

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The Priests of the Missions were also intrusted with the direction and government of a female order called Virgins of Love, or Daughters of Charity, whose office it was to administer assistance and relief to indigent persons, who were confined to their beds by sickness and infirmity. This order was founded by a noble virgin, whose name was Louisa le Gras, and received, in 1660, the approbation of Clement IX.[h]. The Brethren and Sisters of the pious and Christian schools, who are now commonly called Pietists, were formed into a society in 1678, by Nicolas Barre, and obliged by their engagements to devote themselves to the education of poor children of both sexes[i]. It would be endless to mention all the religious societies which rose and fell, were formed by fits of zeal, and dissolved by external incidents, or by their own internal principles of instability and decay.

The society of Jesuits.

XXIX. If the Company of Jesus, which may be considered as the soul of the papal hierarchy, and the main-spring that directs its motions, had not been invincible, it must have sunk under the attacks of those formidable enemies, who, during the course of this century, assailed it on all sides and from every quarter. When we consider the multitude of the adversaries the Jesuits had to encounter, the heinous crimes with which they were charged, the innumerable affronts they received, and the various calamities in which they were involved, it must appear astonishing that they yet subsist; and still more so, that they enjoy any degree of public esteem, and are not, on the contrary, sunk in oblivion, or covered with infamy. In France, Holland, Poland, and Italy,

[g] Abely's Vie de Vincent de Paul.—Helyot, tom. viii. chap. xi.—Gallia Christiana, tom. vii. p. 998.

[h] Gobillon's Vie de Madame le Gras, Fondatrice des Filles de la Charité, published at *Paris*, in 1676.

[i] Helyot's Histoire des Ordres, tom viii. chap. xxx. p. 233.

they experienced, from time to time, the bitter effects of a warm and vehement opposition, and were, both in public and private, accused of the greatest enormities, and charged with maintaining pestilential errors and maxims, that were equally destructive of the temporal and eternal interests of mankind, by their tendency to extinguish the spirit of true religion, and to trouble the order and peace of civil society. The Jansenists, and all who espoused their cause, distinguished themelves more especially in this opposition. They composed an innumerable multitude of books, in order to cover the sons of Loyola with eternal reproach, and to expose them to the hatred and scorn of the universe. Nor were these productions mere defamatory libels dictated by malice alone, or pompous declamations, destitute of argument and evidence. On the contrary, they were attended with the strongest demonstration, being drawn from undeniable facts, and confirmed by unexceptionable testimonies[k]. Yet all this was far from overturning that

[k] An account of this opposition to, and of these contests with the Jesuits, would furnish matter for many volumes, since there is scarcely any Roman catholic country which has not been the theatre of violent divisions between the sons of Loyola, and the magistrates, monks, or doctors, of the Romish church. In these contests, the Jesuits seemed almost always to be vanquished; and, nevertheless, in the issue, they always came victorious from the field of controversy. A Jansenist writer proposed, some years ago, to collect into one relation the dispersed accounts of these contests, and to give a complete history of this famous order. The first volume of his work accordingly appeared at Utrecht, in 1741, was accompanied with a curious preface, and entitled, Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus. If we may give credit to what this writer tells us of the journeys he undertook, the dangers and difficulties he encountered, and the number of years he spent in investigating the proceedings, and in detecting the frauds and artifices of the Jesuits, we must certainly be persuaded, that no man could be better qualified for composing the history of this insidious order. But this good man, returning imprudently into France, was discovered by his exasperated enemies the Jesuits, and is said to have perished miserably by their hands. Hence not above a third part of his intended work was either published, or finished for the press. ☞ Some things may be added, both by way of correction and

CENT. XVII. fabric of profound and insidious policy which the Jesuits had raised, under the protection of the Roman pontiffs, and the connivance of deluded princes and nations. It seemed, on the contrary, as if the opposition of such a multitude of enemies and accusers had strengthened their interest instead of diminishing it, and added to their affluence and prosperity, instead of bringing on their destruction. Amidst the storm that threatened them with a fatal shipwreck, they directed their course with the utmost dexterity, tranquillity, and prudence. Thus they safely reached

illustration, to what Dr. Mosheim has here said concerning the history of the Jesuits and its author. In the first place, its author or compiler is still alive, resides at the Hague, passes by the name of Benard, is supposed to be a Jansenist, and a relative of the famous Father Quesnel, whom the Jesuits persecuted with such violence in France. He is a native of France, and belonged to the oratory. It is also true, that he went thither from Holland several years ago; and it was believed, that he had fallen a victim to the resentment of the Jesuits, until his return to the Hague proved that report false. Secondly, this history is carried no farther down than the year 1572, notwithstanding the express promises and engagements, by which our author bound himself, four and twenty years ago * (in the preface to his first volume), to publish the whole in a very short time, declaring that it was ready for the press. This suspension is far from being honorable to M. Benard, as he is at full liberty to accomplish his promise. This has made some suspect, that, though he is too much out of the Jesuits' reach to be influenced by their threatenings, he is not too far from them to be moved by the eloquence of their promises, or sufficiently firm and resolute to stand out against the weighty remonstrances they may have employed to prevent the farther publication of his history. It may be observed, thirdly, that the character of a traveler, who has studied the manners and conduct of the Jesuits in the most remarkable scenes of their transactions in Europe, and the other parts of the globe, is here assumed by M. Benard as the most pleasing manner of conveying the accounts which he compiled in his closet. These accounts do not appear to be false, though the character of a traveler, assumed by the compiler, be fictitious. It must be allowed, on the contrary, that M. Benard has drawn his relations from good sources, though his style and manner cannot well be justified from the charge of acrimony and malignity.

* The translator wrote this note in 1765.

the desired harbour, and rose to the very summit of spiritual authority in the church of Rome. Avoiding, rather than repelling the assaults of their enemies, opposing, for the most part, patience and silence to their redoubled insults, they proceeded uniformly and steadily to their great purpose, and they seemed to have attained it. For those very nations who formerly looked upon a Jesuit as a kind of monster, and as a public pest, commit, at this day, some through necessity, some through choice, and others through both, a great part of their interests and transactions to the direction of this most artful and powerful society[1].

The state of learning in the church of Rome.

XXX. All the different branches of literature received, during this century, in the more polished Roman-catholic countries, a new degree of lustre and improvement. France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, produced several men eminent for their genius,

[1] It may perhaps be affirmed with truth, that none of the Roman catholic nations attacked the Jesuits with more vehemence and animosity than the French did upon several occasions; and it is certain, that the Jesuits in that kingdom have been, more than once, involved in great difficulties and distress. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult Du-Boulay's Historia Academiæ Parisiensis, tom. vi. page 559, 648, 676, 738, 742, 763, 874, 890, 909, in which he will find an ample and accurate account of the resolutions and transactions of the parliament and university of Paris, and also of the proceedings of the people in general, to the detriment of this artful and dangerous society. But what was the final issue of all these resolutions and transactions, and in what did all this opposition end? I answer, in the exaltation and grandeur of the Jesuits. They had been banished with ignominy out of the kingdom, and were recalled from their exile, and honorably restored to their former credit in 1604, in the reign of Henry IV., notwithstanding the remonstrances of many persons of the highest rank and dignity, who were shocked beyond expression at this unaccountably mean and ignoble step (See the Memoires de Sully, modern edition, published at Geneva, tom. v. p. 83, 314). After that period, they moved the main-springs of government both in church and state, and still continue to sit, though invisibly, at the helm of both. ☞ The reader must be reminded, that this note was written by Dr. Mosheim some years before the suppression of the society of Jesuits in France.

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erudition, and acquaintance with the learned languages. This happy circumstance must not, however, be attributed to the labor of the schools, or to the methods and procedure of public education; for the old, dry, perplexing, inelegant, scholastic method of instruction prevailed then, and indeed still takes place in both the higher and lower seminaries of learning; and it is the peculiar tendency of this method to damp genius, to depress (instead of exciting and encouraging) the generous efforts of the mind toward the pursuit of truth, and to load the memory with a multitude of insignificant words and useless distinctions. It was beyond the borders of these pedantic seminaries, that genius was encouraged, and directed by great and eminent patrons of science, who opened new paths to the attainment of solid learning, and presented the sciences under a new and engaging aspect to the studious youth. It must be observed here, in justice to the French, that they bore a distinguished part in this literary reformation. Excited by their native force of genius, and animated by the encouragement which learning and learned men received from the munificence of Louis XIV., they cultivated with success almost every branch of literature, and, rejecting the barbarous jargon of the schools, exhibited learning under an elegant and alluring form, and thereby multiplied the number of its votaries and patrons[m]. It is well known how much the example and labors of this polite nation contributed to deliver other countries from the yoke of scholastic bondage.

The state of philosophy.

XXXI. The Aristotelians of this century were a set of intricate dialecticians, who had the name of the Stagirite always in their mouths, without the least portion of his genius, or any tolerable knowlege of his system; and they maintained their empire in the schools, notwithstanding the attempts that had

[m] For an ample account of this matter, see Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV. and more especially the chapter in the second volume relative to the arts and sciences.

been made to diminish their credit. It was long before the court of Rome, which beheld with terror whatever bore the smallest aspect of novelty, could think of consenting to the introduction of a more rational philosophy, or permit the modern discoveries in that noble science to be explained with freedom in the public seminaries of learning. This appears sufficiently from the fate of Galileo, the famous mathematician of Florence, who was cast into prison by the court of Inquisition, for adopting the sentiments of Copernicus, with regard to the constitution of the solar system. It is true, that Des-Cartes and Gassendi [n], one by his new philosophy, and the other by his admirable writings, gave a mortal wound to the Peripatetics, and excited a spirit of liberty and emulation that changed the face of science in France. It was under the auspicious influence of these adventurous guides, that several ingenious men of that nation abandoned the perplexed and intricate wilds of the philosophy that was taught by the modern Aristotelians; and, throwing off the shackles of mere authority, dared to consult the dictates of reason and experience, in the study of nature, and in the investigation of truth. Among these converts to true philosophy, several Jesuits, and a still greater number of Jansenists and priests of the Oratory, distinguished themselves; and, accordingly, we find in this list the respectable names of Malebranche, Arnauld, Lami, Nicole, Pascal, who acquired immortal fame by illustrating and improving the doctrine of Des-Cartes, and accommodating it to the purposes of human life [o].

[n] See Gassendi Exercitationes Paradoxæ adversus Aristoteleos, tom. iii. op. This subtile and judicious work contributed, perhaps more than any thing else, to hurt the cause, and ruin the credit, of the Peripatetics.

[o] These great men were, indeed, very ill treated by the Peripatetics, on account of their learned and excellent labors. They were accused, by these exasperated scholastics, of irreligion, and were even charged with atheism by father Hardouin, who was really intoxicated with the large draughts he had taken from the muddy fountains of Peripatetic and scholastic science.

CENT. XVII. The modesty, circumspection, and self-diffidence of Gassendi, who confessed the scanty measure of his knowlege, and pretended to no other merit than that of pointing out a rational method of arriving at truth, while others boasted that they had already found it out, rendered him disagreeable in France. The ardent curiosity, the fervor, precipitation, and impatience of that lively people, could not bear the slow and cautious method of proceeding that was recommended by the cool wisdom of this prudent inquirer. They wanted to get at the summit of philosophy, without climbing the steps that lead to it.

Toward the conclusion of this century, many eminent men, in Italy and in other countries, followed the example of the French, in throwing off the yoke of the Peripatetics, and venturing into the paths that were newly opened for the investigation of truth. This desertion of the old philosophy was at first attended with that timidity and secrecy which arose from apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of the court of Rome; but, as soon as it was known that the pontiffs beheld, with less indignation and jealousy, the new discoveries in metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy, the deserters broke their chains with greater confidence, and proceeded with greater freedom and boldness in the pursuit of truth.

The respective literary merit of Jesuits, Benedictines, Priests of the Oratory, and Jansenists.

XXXII. After this general account of the state of learning in the catholic countries, it will not be improper to point out, in a more particular manner, those Romish writers who contributed most to the propagation and improvement both of sacred and profane erudition during this century. The Jesuits, for a long time, not only possessed an undisputed

See his Athei Detecti, in his Op. Posthum.—It is easy to perceive the reasons of all this resentment, since the Cartesian system, which aimed at restoring the authority of reason, and the light of true philosophy, was by no means so proper to defend the pretensions of Rome and the cause of popery, as the dark and intricate jargon of the Peripatetics.

pre-eminence in this respect, but were, moreover, considered as almost the sole fountains of universal knowlege, and the only religious order that made any great figure in the literary world. And it must be allowed by all, who are not mis-led by want of candor or of proper information, that this famous society was adorned by many persons of uncommon genius and learning. The names of Petau, Sirmond, Poussin, Labbe, and Abram, will live as long as literature shall be honored and valued; and even that of Hardouin, notwithstanding the singularity of his disordered fancy, and the extravagance of many of his opinions, will escape oblivion.

It is at the same time to be observed, that the literary glory of the Jesuits suffered a remarkable eclipse in this century, from the growing lustre of the Benedictine order, and more especially of the Congregation of St. Maur. The Jesuits were perpetually boasting of the eminent merit and lustre of their society on the one hand, and exposing, on the other, to public contempt, the ignorance and stupidity of the Benedictines, who, indeed, formerly made a very different figure from what they do at present. Their view in this was to form a plausible pretext for invading the rights of the latter, and engrossing their ample revenues and possessions; but the Benedictines resolved to disconcert this insidious project, to wipe off the reproach of ignorance that had heretofore been cast upon them with too much justice, and to disappoint the rapacious avidity of their enemies, and rob them of their pretexts. For this purpose they not only erected schools in their monasteries, for the instruction of youth in the various branches of learning and science, but also employed such of their select members, as were distinguished by their erudition and genius, in composing a variety of learned productions, that were likely to survive the waste of time, adapted to vindicate the honor of the fraternity, and to reduce its enemies to silence. This important task was executed with incredible ability and success

CENT. XVII. by Mabillon, D'Achery, Massuet, Ruinart, Beaugendre, Garnier, De la Rue, Martenne, Montfaucon, and other eminent men of that learned order. It is to these Benedictines that we are indebted for the best editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; for the discovery of many curious records, and ancient documents, that throw a new light upon the history of remote ages, and upon the antiquities of various countries; for the best accounts of ancient transactions, whether ecclesiastical or political, and of the manners and customs of the earliest times; for the improvement of chronology, and the other branches of literature. In all these parts of philology and the belles lettres, the religious order, now under consideration, has shone with a distinguished lustre, and given specimens of knowlege, discernment, and industry, that are worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity. It would be perhaps difficult to assign a reason for that visible decline of learning among the Jesuits, which commenced precisely at the very period when the Benedictines began to make this eminent figure in the republic of letters. The fact, however, is undeniable; and the Jesuits have long been at a loss to produce any one or more of their members who are qualified to dispute the pre-eminence, or even to claim an equality, with the Benedictines. The latter still continue to shine in the various branches of philology, and, almost every year, enrich the literary world with productions that furnish abundant proofs of their learning and industry; whereas, if we except a single work published by the Jesuits of Antwerp, (the Acts of the Saints), many years have passed since the sons of Loyola have give any satisfactory proofs of their boasted learning, or added to the mass of literature any work worthy to be compared with the labors of the followers of Benedict.

These learned monks excited the emulation of the Priests of the Oratory, whose efforts to resemble them were far from being destitute of success. Several members of the latter order distinguished themselves

by their remarkable proficiency in various branches both of sacred and profane literature. This, to mention no more examples, appears sufficiently from the writings of Morin, Thomassin, and Simon, and from that admirable work of Charles le Cointe, entitled, The Ecclesiastical Annals of France. The Jansenists also deserve a place in the list of those who cultivated letters with industry and success. Many of their productions abound with erudition, and several of them excel both in elegance of style and precision of method; and it may be said, in general, that their writings were eminently serviceable in the instruction of youth, and also proper to contribute to the progress of learning among persons of riper years. The writings of those who composed the community of Port-Royal [p], the works of Tillemont, Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and Lancelot, with many other elegant and useful productions of persons of this class, were undoubtedly an ornament to French literature during this century. The other religious societies, the higher and lower orders of the clergy, had also among them men of learning and genius, who reflected a lustre upon the respective classes to which they belonged. Nor ought this to be a matter of astonishment, since nothing is more natural than that, in an immense multitude of monks and clergy, all possessing abundant leisure for study, and the best opportunities of improvement, there should be some who, unwilling to hide or throw away such a precious talent, would employ with success this leisure, and these opportunities, in the cultivation of the sciences. It is nevertheless certain, that the eminent men who were to be found beyond the limits of the four classes already

[p] The denomination of Messieurs de Port Royal comprehended all the Jansenist writers; but it was applied, in a more confined and particular sense, to those Jansenists who passed their days in pious exercises and literary pursuits in the retreat of Port-Royal, a mansion situated near Paris. It is well known, that several writers of superior genius, extensive learning, and uncommon eloquence, resided in this sanctuary of letters.

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mentioned [q], were few in number, comparatively speaking, and scarcely exceeded the list that any one of these classes could furnish.

The principal authors of the Romish communion.

XXXIII. Hence it comes, that the church of Rome can produce a long list of writers who have arisen in its bosom, and acquired a shining and permanent reputation by their learned productions. At the head of the eminent authors, found among the monastic orders and the regular clergy, must be placed the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, who have obtained an immortal name in their church, one by his laborious Annals, and the other by his books of controversy. The other writers who belong to this class, are, Serrarius, Fevardentius, Possevin, Gretser, Combefis, Natalis Alexander, Becan, Sirmond, Petau, Poussin, Cellot, Caussin, Morin, Renaud, Fra-Paolo, Pallavicini, Labbe, Maimbourg, Thomassin, Sfondrati, Aguirre, Henry Norris, D'Achery, Mabillon, Hardouin, Simon, Ruinart, Montfaucon, Galloni, Scacchi, Cornelius à Lapide, Bonfrere, Menard, Seguenot, Bernard, Lamy, Bolland, Henschen, Papebroch, and others.

The principal among the secular clergy, who are neither bound by vows, nor attached to any peculiar community and rules of discipline, were, Perron, Estius, Launoy, Albaspinæus, Peter de Marca, Richelieu, Holstenius, Baluze, Bona, Huet, Bossuet, Fenelon, Godeau, Tillemont, Thiers, Du-Pin, Leo Allatius, Zaccagni, Cotelier, Filesac, Visconti, &c. [r]. This list might be considerably augmented by adding to it those writers among the laity who distinguished themselves by their theological or literary productions.

[q] The Jesuits, Benedictines, priests of the Oratory, and Jansenists.

[r] For a particular account of the respective merit of the writers here mentioned, see, among other literary historians, Du-Pin's Histoire des Ecrivains Ecclesiastiques, tom. xvii. xviii. xix.

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The doctrine of the church of Rome still more corrupt than in the preceding ages.

XXXIV. If we take an accurate view of the religious system of the Romish church during this century, both with respect to articles of faith and rules of practice, we shall find that, instead of being improved by being brought nearer to the perfect model of doctrine and morals, exhibited to us in the Holy Scriptures, it had contracted new degrees of corruption and degeneracy, partly by the negligence of the pontiffs, and partly by the dangerous maxims and influence of the Jesuits. This is not only the observation of those who have renounced the Romish communion, and in the despotic style of that church are called heretics; it is the complaint of the wisest and worthiest part of that communion, of all its members who have a zeal for the advancement of true Christian knowlege and genuine piety.

As to the doctrinal part of the Romish religion, it is said, and not without foundation, to have suffered extremely in the hands of the Jesuits, who, under the connivance, and sometimes even by the immediate assistance of the pontiffs, have perverted and corrupted such of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as were left entire by the council of Trent. There are proofs sufficient to support this charge; inasmuch as the subtile and insidious fathers have manifestly endeavoured to diminish the authority and importance of the Scriptures, have extolled the power of human nature, changed the sentiments of many with respect to the necessity and efficacy of divine grace, represented the mediation and sufferings of Christ as less powerful and meritorious than they are said to be in the sacred writings, turned the Roman pontiff into a terrestrial Deity, and put him almost upon an equal footing with the Divine Saviour; and, finally, have rendered, as far as they can, the truth of the Christian religion dubious, by their fallacious reasonings, and their artful and pernicious sophistry. The testimonies adduced to support these accusations by men of weight and merit, particularly among the Jansenists, are of very great authority;

and it is extremely difficult to refuse our assent to them, when they are impartially examined: but, on the other hand, it may be easily proved, that the Jesuits, instead of inventing these pernicious doctrines, did no more, in reality, than propagate them as they found them in that ancient system of religion which preceded the Reformation, and was directly calculated to raise the authority of the pope, and the power and prerogatives of the church, to the highest pitch of despotic grandeur. To inculcate this form of doctrine was the direct vocation of the Jesuits, who were to derive all their credit, opulence, and influence, from their being considered as the main support of the papacy, and the peculiar favorites of the pontiffs. If the ultimate end and purpose of these pontiffs were to render the church more pure and holy, and to bring it as near as possible to the resemblance of its Divine Founder, and if this were the commission they gave to their favorite emissaries and doctors, then the Jesuits would be at liberty to preach a very different doctrine from what they now inculcate. But that liberty cannot be granted to them as long as their principal orders from the papal throne are, to use all their diligence and industry, to the end that the pontiffs may hold what they have acquired, and recover what they have lost, and that the bishops and other ministers of the church may daily see their opulence increase, and the limits of their authority extended and enlarged. The chief crime then of the Jesuits is really this, that they have explained, with more openness and perspicuity, those points which the leading managers in the council of Trent had either entirely omitted, or slightly mentioned, that they might not shock the friends of true religion, who composed a part of that famous assembly. And here we see the true reason why the pontiffs, notwithstanding the ardent solicitations and remonstrances that have been employed to arm their just severity against the Jesuits, have always maintained that artful order, and have been so deaf to the

accusations of their adversaries, that no entreaties have been able to persuade them to condemn their religious principles and tenets, however erroneous in their nature, and pernicious in their effects. On the contrary, the court of Rome has always opposed, either in a public or clandestine manner, all the vigorous measures that have been used to procure the condemnation and suppression of the doctrine of the Jesuits; and it has constantly treated all such attempts as the projects of rash and imprudent men, who, through involuntary ignorance or obstinate prejudice, were blind to the true interest of the church.

The foundations of morality sapped by the Jesuits.

XXXV. In the sphere of morals, the Jesuits made still more dreadful and atrocious inroads than in that of religion. In affirming that they have perverted and corrupted almost every branch and precept of morality, we should not express sufficiently the pernicious tendency of their maxims. Were we to go still farther, and maintain, that they have sapped and destroyed its very foundations, we should maintain no more than what innumerable writers of the Romish church abundantly testify, and what many of the most illustrious communities of that church publicly lament. Those who bring this dreadful charge against the sons of Loyola, have taken abundant precautions to vindicate themselves from the reproach of calumny. They have published several maxims, inconsistent with all regard for virtue and even decency, which they have drawn from the moral writings of that order, and more especially from the numerous productions of its casuists. They observe, more particularly, that the whole society adopts and inculcates the following maxims:

"That persons truly wicked, and void of the love "of God, may expect to obtain eternal life in heaven, "provided that they be impressed with a fear of the "divine anger, and avoid all heinous and enormous "crimes through the dread of future punishment.

"That those persons may transgress with safety, "who have a probable reason for transgressing, i. e.

CENT. XVII. "any plausible argument or authority in favor of the "sin they are inclined to commit[s].

"That actions intrinsically evil, and directly "contrary to the divine laws, may be innocently "performed, by those who have so much power over "their own minds, as to join, even ideally, a good "end to this wicked action, or (to speak in the style "of the Jesuits) who are capable of rightly directing "their intention[t].

☞ [s] This is one of the most corrupt and most dangerous maxims of the Jesuits. On one hand, they have among them doctors of different characters and different principles, that thus they may render their society recommendable in the eyes of all sorts of persons, the licentious as well as the austere. On the other, they maintain, that an opinion or practice, recommended by any one doctor, becomes thereby probable, as it is not to be supposed, that a learned divine would adopt an opinion, or recommend a practice, in favor of which no considerable reason could be alleged.—But here lies the poison: this probable opinion or practice *may* be followed, say the Jesuits, when the contrary is still more probable, and even when it is *sure*, because, though the man may err, he errs under the authority of an eminent doctor. Thus Escobar affirms, that a judge may decide in favor of that side of a question which is the least probable, and even against his own opinion, if he be supported by any tolerable authority. See the viiith of the Lettres Provinciales.

☞ [t] For example, an ecclesiastic who buys a benefice, in order to direct his intention rightly, must, by a powerful act of abstraction, turn away his thoughts from the crime of simony, which he is committing, to some lawful purpose, such as that of acquiring an ample subsistence, or that of doing good by instructing the ignorant. Thus again, a man who runs his neighbour through the body in a duel, on account of a trivial affront, to render his action lawful, has only to turn his thoughts from the principle of vengeance, to the more decent principle of honor, and the murder he commits will, by the magic power of Jesuitical morality, be converted into an innocent action. There is no crime or enormity to which this abominable maxim may not be extended. "A famous Jesuit has declared, that a son may wish for the death of his father, and even rejoice at it when it arrives, provided that his wish does not arise from any personal hatred, but only from a desire of the patrimony which this death will procure him." See Gaspard Hurtado, de sub. peccat. definit. 9, quoted by Diana, p. 5. tr. 14. R. 99, and another has had the effrontery to maintain, that a monk or ecclesiastic may lawfully assassinate a calumniator, who threatens to impute scan-

"That philosophical sin is of a very light and "trivial nature, and does not deserve the pains of "hell:—By philosophical sin the Jesuits mean an action contrary to the dictates of nature and right reason, done by a person who is ignorant of the written law of God, or doubtful [u] of its true meaning.

"That the transgressions committed by a person "blinded by the seduction of lust, agitated by the "impulse of tumultuous passions, and destitute of all "sense and impression of religion, however detestable "and heinous they may be in themselves, are not "imputable to the transgressor before the tribunal of "God; and that such transgressions may often be as "involuntary as the actions of a madman:

"That the person who takes an oath, or enters "into a contract, may, to elude the force of the one, "and the obligation of the other, add, to the form of "words by which they are expressed, certain mental "additions and tacit reservations."

These, and other enormities of a like nature [w], are said to make an essential part of the system of mora-

dalous crimes to their community, when there is no other way of preventing the execution of his purpose. See the works of Father L'Amy, tom. v. disp. 36. n. 118.

☞ [u] It would perhaps be more accurate to define the philosophical sin of the Jesuits to be "an action contrary to right reason, which is done by a person who is either absolutely ignorant of God, or does not think of him during the time this action is committed."

[w] The books that have been written to expose and refute the corrupt and enormous maxims of the Jesuits, would make an ample library, were they collected. But nothing of this kind is equal to the learned, ingenious, and humorous work of the famous Pascal, entitled, Les Provinciales, ou Lettres ecrites par Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ses amis, et aux Jesuites, sur la Morale et la Politique de ces Peres. This exquisite production is accompanied, in some editions of it, with the learned and judicious observations of Nicole, who, under the fictitious name of Guillaume Wenderock, fully demonstrated the truth of those facts which Pascal had advanced without quoting his authorities, and placed, in a full and striking light, several interesting circumstances which that great man had treated with, perhaps, too much brevity. These letters, which did the Jesuits more real

CENT. XVII. lity inculcated by the Jesuits. And they were complained of, in the strongest remonstrances, not only

mischief than either the indignation of sovereign princes, or any other calamity that had heretofore fallen upon their order, were translated into Latin by Rachelius. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola, sensibly affected and alarmed by this formidable attack upon their reputation, left no means unemployed to defend themselves against such a respectable adversary. They sent forth their ablest champions to defend their cause, or, at least, to cover them from shame: among which champions the subtile and eloquent Father Daniel, the celebrated author of the History of France, shone forth with a superior lustre; and, as if they thought it unsafe to trust to the powers of argument, and the force of evidence alone, they applied themselves for help to the secular arm, and had credit enough to obtain a sentence, condemning the Provinciales to be burned publicly at Paris. See Daniel's Opuscules, vol. i. p. 363. This author, however, acknowleges that the greatest part of the answers which the Jesuits opposed to the performance of Pascal were weak and unsatisfactory. Certain it is, that (whether it was owing to the strength of argument, or to the elegant wit and humor that reigned in them) the Provincial Letters lost not the smallest portion of their credit and reputation by all the answers that were made to them, but continued to pass through a great number of editions, which could scarcely be printed off with rapidity sufficient to satisfy the desires of the public.

Another severe attack was made upon the Jesuits, in a book inferior to Pascal's work in point of wit and genteel pleasantry, but superior to it in point of evidence, since it abounds with passages and testimonies, which are drawn from the most applauded writings of the Jesuits, and demonstate fully the corruption and enormity of the moral rules and maxims inculcated by that famous order. This book, which was published at Mons in 1702, bears the following title: La Morale des Jesuites, extraite fidélement de leurs Livres imprimez avec la permission et l'approbation des Superieurs de leur Compagnie, par un Docteur de Sorbonne. The author was Perrault (son of Charles Perrault, who began the famous controversy in France concerning the respective merits of the ancients and moderns), and his book met with the same fate with the Provinciales of Pascal: for it was burned at Paris in 1670, at the request of the Jesuits. See the Opuscules du Pere Daniel, tom. i. p. 356. Nor indeed is it at all surprising, that the Jesuits exerted all their zeal against this compilation, which exhibited, in one shocking point of view, all that had been complained of and censured in their maxims and institutions, and unfolded the whole mystery of their iniquity.

It has also been laid to the charge of the Jesuits, that they reduced their pernicious maxims to practice, especially in the

by the Dominicans and Jansenists, but also by the most eminent theologians of Paris, Poictiers, Louvain, and other academical cities, who expressed their abhorrence of them in such a public and solemn manner, that the pontiff neither thought it safe nor honorable to keep silence on that head. Accordingly some of these maxims were condemned, in 1659, by pope Alexander VII. in a public edict; and, in 1690, the article relating to philosophical sin met with the same fate, under the pontificate of Alexander VIII. [x]. It was natural to think, that, if the order of Jesuits did not expire under the terrible blows it received from such a formidable list of adversaries, yet their system of morals must at least have been suppressed, and their pestilential maxims banished from the schools. This is the least that could have been expected from the complaints and remonstrances of the clerical and monastic orders, and the damnatory bulls of the pontiffs. And yet, if we may credit the testimonies of many learned and pious men in the communion of Rome, even this effect was not produced; and the

remoter parts of the world. Arnauld, and some of his Jansenist brethren, ably endeavoured to support this charge in that laborious and celebrated work, entitled La Morale Pratique des Jesuites. In this important work, a multitude of authentic relations, documents, facts, and testimonies, are employed to demonstrate the criminal conduct and practices of the Jesuits. For an ample account of the Jesuitical doctrine concerning philosophical sin, and the dissensions and controversies it occasioned, see Jacobi Hyacinthi Serry * Addenda ad Histor. Congregationum de Auxiliis, p. 82; as also his Auctarium, p. 289.

[x] There is a concise and accurate account of the contests and divisions, to which the morality of the Jesuits gave rise in France and in other countries, in a work, entitled, Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations qui divisent maintenant l'Eglise, published in 1730. See tom. ii. p. 26.—It is very remarkable, that the two bulls of Alexander VII. and VIII. against the Jesuits are not to be found in the Bullarium Pontificum; but the Jansenists and Dominicans, who are careful in perpetuating whatever may tend to the dishonor of the Jesuits, have preserved them industriously from oblivion.

☞ * This is a fictitious name; the true name of the author of the Addenda was Augustin Le Blanc.

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What has here been said concerning the erroneous maxims and corrupt practices of the Jesuits, must, however, be understood with modifications and restrictions. It must not be imagined, that these maxims are adopted, or these practices justified, by all the sons of Loyola, without exception, or that they are publicly taught and inculcated in all their schools and seminaries; for this, in reality, is not the case. As this order has produced men of learning and genius, so neither has it been destitute of men of probity and candor; nor would it be a difficult task to compile from the writings of the Jesuits a much more just and proper representation of the duties of religion and the obligations of morality, than that hideous and unseemly exhibition of both, which Pascal and his followers have drawn from the Jesuitical casuists,

☞ [y] The translator has here inserted in the text the note [q] of the original.

summists, and moralists. Those who censure the Jesuits in general, must, if their censures be well founded, have the following circumstances in view; first, that the rulers of that society not only suffer many of their members to propagate publicly impious opinions and corrupt maxims, but even go so far as to set the seal of their approbation to the books in which these opinions and maxims are contained[z]: secondly, that the system of religion and morality, taught in the greatest part of their seminaries, is so loose, vague, and ill-digested, that it not only may be easily perverted to bad purposes and erroneous conclusions, but even seems peculiarly susceptible of such abuse; and lastly, that the select few, who are initiated into the grand mysteries of the society, and set apart to transact its affairs, to carry on its projects, to exert their political talents in the closet of the minister, or in the cabinet of the prince, commonly make use of the dangerous and pernicious maxims that are complained of to augment the authority and opulence of their order. The candor and impartiality that become an historian, oblige us to acknowlege, at the same time, that, in demonstrating the turpitude and enormity of certain maxims and opinions of the Jesuits, their adversaries have gone too far, and permitted their eloquence and zeal to run into exaggeration. This we might shew, with the fullest evidence, by examples deduced from the doctrines of probability and mental reservation, and the imputations that have been made to the Jesuits on these heads; but this would lead us too far from the thread of our history. We shall only observe, that what happens frequently in every kind of controversy, happened here in a singular manner; I mean, that the

☞ [z] This is, no doubt, true. The Jesuits have doctors of all sorts and sizes; and this, indeed, is necessary, in order to the establishment of that universal empire at which they aim. See Lettres Provinciales, let. v. p. 62 of the tenth Cologne edition.

Jesuits were charged with tenets, which had been drawn *consequentially* from their doctrine, by their accusers, without their consent; that their phrases and terms were not always interpreted according to the precise meaning which they annexed to them; and that the tendency of their system was represented in too partial and unequitable a light.

The state of exegetic theology, or the progress made in the interpretation and exposition of Scripture.

XXXVI. The Scriptures did not acquire any new degrees of public respect and authority under the pontiffs of this century. It can be proved, on the contrary, by the most authentic records, that the votaries of Rome, and more especially the Jesuits, employed all their dexterity and art, either to prevent the word of God from falling into the hands of the people, or at least to have it explained in a manner consistent with the interest, grandeur, and pretensions of their church. In France and the Netherlands there arose, indeed, several commentators and critics, who were very far from being destitute of knowlege and erudition; but it may nevertheless be said of them, that, instead of illustrating and explaining the divine oracles, they rendered them more obscure, by blending their own crude inventions with the dictates of celestial wisdom. This is chargeable even upon the Jansenists, who, though superior to the other Roman catholic expositors in most respects, yet fell into that absurd method of disfiguring the pure word of God, by far-fetched allusions, mystic interpretations, and frigid allegories, compiled from the reveries of the ancient fathers[a]. Here, nevertheless, an exception is to be made in favor of Pasquier Quesnel, a priest of the oratory, whose edition of the New Testament, accompanied with pious meditations and remarks,

[a] The reader will find a striking example of this in the well-known Bible of Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, which contains all the crude and extravagant fancies and allegories, with which the ancient doctors obscured the beautiful simplicity of the Scriptures, and rendered their clearest expressions intricate and mysterious.

made such a prodigious noise in the theological world[b], and even in our time has continued to furnish matter of warm and violent contest, and to split the Roman catholic doctors into parties and factions[c].

Of didactic, moral and polemic theology.

XXXVII. The majority of the public schools retained that dry, intricate, and captious method of teaching theology, which had prevailed in the ages of barbarism and darkness, and which could only excite disgust in all such as were endowed with a liberal turn of mind. There was no possibility of ordering matters so, that didactic or biblical theology, which is supposed to arrange and illustrate the truths of religion by the dictates of Scripture, should be placed upon the same footing, and holden in the same honor with scholastic divinity, which had its source in the metaphysical visions of the peripatetic philosophy. Even the edicts of the pontiffs were insufficient to accomplish this object. In the greatest part of the universities, the scholastic doctors domineered, and were constantly molesting and insulting the biblical divines, who, generally speaking, were little skilled in the captious arts of sophistry and dialectical chicane. It is nevertheless to be observed, that many of the French doctors, and more especially the Jansenists, explained the principal doctrines and duties of Christianity in a style and manner that were at least recommendable on account of their elegance and perspicuity; and indeed it may be affirmed, that almost all the theological or moral treatises of this

☞ [b] That is, in the Roman catholic part of the theological world. Never perhaps did any thing shew, in a more striking manner, the blind zeal of faction than the hard treatment this book met with. See Cent. xviii. sect x. note [g].

[c] The first part of this work, which contains observations on the four Gospels, was published in 1671; and, as it was received with general applause, this encouraged the author not only to revise and augment it, but also to enlarge his plan, and compose observations on the other books of the New Testament. See the Catechisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 150.—Ch. Eberh. Weismanni Histor. Eccles. sæc. xvii. p. 588.

CENT. XVII. age, that were composed with any tolerable degree of simplicity and good sense, had the doctors of Port-Royal, or the French priests of the oratory, for their authors. We have already taken notice of the changes that were introduced, during this century, into the method of carrying on theological controversy. The German, Belgic, and French divines, being at length convinced, by disagreeable experience, that their captious, incoherent, and uncharitable manner of disputing, exasperated those who differed from them in their religious sentiments, and confirmed them in their respective systems, instead of converting them;—and perceiving, moreover, that the arguments in which they had formerly placed their principal confidence, proved feeble and insufficient to make the least impression,—found it necessary to look out for new and more specious methods of attack and defence.

The contests that arose under the pontificate of Clement VIII. concerning the Divine Grace.

XXXVIII. The Romish church has, notwithstanding its boasted uniformity of doctrine, been always divided by a multitude of controversies. It would be endless to enumerate the disputes that have arisen between the seminaries of learning, and the contests that have divided the monastic orders. The greatest part of these, as being of little moment, we shall pass over in silence; for they have been treated with indifference and neglect by the popes, who never took notice of them but when they grew violent and noisy, and then suppressed them with an imperious nod, that imposed silence upon the contending parties. Besides, these less momentous controversies, which it will never be possible entirely to extinguish, are not of such a nature as to affect the church in its fundamental principles, to endanger its constitution, or to hurt its interests. It will, therefore, be sufficient to give a brief account of those debates which, by their superior importance and their various connexions and dependencies, may be said to have affected the church in general, and to have threatened it with alarming changes and revolutions.

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And here the first place is naturally due to the famous debates, carried on between the Jesuits and Dominicans concerning the nature and necessity of divine grace; the decision of which important point had, toward the conclusion of the preceding century, been committed by Clement VIII. to a select assembly of learned divines. These arbiters, after having employed several years in deliberating upon this nice and critical subject, and in examining the arguments of the contending parties, intimated, plainly enough, to the pontiff, that the sentiments of the Dominicans, concerning grace, predestination, human liberty, and original sin, were more conformable to the doctrine of Scripture and the decisions of the ancient fathers than the opinions of Molina, which were patronised by the Jesuits. They observed, more especially, that the former leaned toward the tenets of Augustine, while the latter bore a striking resemblance to the Pelagian heresy. In consequence of this declaration, Clement seemed resolved to pass condemnation on the Jesuits, and to determine the controversy in favor of the Dominicans. Affairs were in this state in 1601, when the Jesuits, alarmed at the dangers that threatened them, beset the old pontiff night and day, and so importuned him with entreaties, menaces, arguments, and complaints, that, in 1602, he consented to re-examine this intricate controversy, and undertook himself the critical task of principal arbitrator. For this purpose, he chose a council[d] (composed of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity, and five bishops), which, in the course of three years[e], assembled seventy-eight times, or, to speak in the style of Rome, held so many *congregations*. At these meetings, the pontiff heard, at one time, the Jesuits and Dominicans disputing in favor of their respective systems; and, at another, ordered the assembled doctors to weigh their reasons, and examine the proofs that were

☞ [d] This council was called the congregation *de Auxiliis*.

[e] From the 20th of March, 1602, to the 22d of January, 1605.

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Continuation of this controversy under Paul V. and its issue.

XXXIX. The proceedings of the congregation that had been assembled by Clement were suspended for some time, by the death of that pontiff; but they were resumed, in the same year, by the order of Paul V. his successor. Their deliberations, which were continued from September to the following March, did not turn so much upon the merits of the cause, which were already sufficiently examined, as upon the prudent and proper method of finishing the contest. The great question now was, whether the well-being of the church would admit the decision of this controversy by a papal bull; and, if such a decision should seem advisable, it still remained to be considered, in what terms the bull should be drawn up. All these long and solemn deliberations resembled the delivery of the mountain in the fable, and ended in this resolution, that the whole controversy, instead of being *decided*, should be *suppressed*, and that each of the contending parties should have the liberty of following their respective opinions. The Dominicans assert, that the two pontiffs, together with the congregation of divines employed by them in the review of this important controversy, were fully persuaded of the justice of *their* cause, and of the truth of *their* system; they moreover observe, that Paul had expressly ordered a solemn condemnation of the doctrine of the Jesuits to be drawn up,

but was prevented from finishing and publishing it, by the unhappy war that was kindled about that time between him and the Venetians. The Jesuits, on the other hand, represent these accounts of the Dominicans as entirely fictitious, and affirm that neither the pontiff, nor the more judicious and respectable members of the congregation, found any thing in the sentiments of Molina that was worthy of censure, or stood in much need of correction. In a point which is rendered thus uncertain by contradictory testimonies and assertions, it is difficult to determine what we are to believe ; it however appears exceedingly probable, that, whatever the private opinion of Paul may have been, he was prevented from pronouncing a public determination of this famous controversy, by his apprehensions of offending either the king of France, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of Spain, who warmly maintained the cause of the Dominicans. It is farther probable, and almost certain, that, had the pontiff been independent of all foreign influence, and at full liberty to decide this knotty point, he would have pronounced one of those *ambiguous* sentences, for which the oracle of Rome is so famous, and would have so conducted matters as to shock neither of the contending parties [f].

[f] Beside the authors we have above recommended as proper to be consulted in relation to these contests, see Le Clerc, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace, in his Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique, tom. xiv. p. 235. The conduct, both of the Jesuits and Dominicans, after their controversy was hushed, affords much reason to presume that they had been both secretly exhorted by the pontiff to mitigate their respective systems, and so to modify their doctrines or expressions, as to avoid the reproach of heresy that had been cast upon them ; for the Jesuits had been accused of Pelagianism, and the Dominicans of a propensity to the tenets of the protestant churches. This appears, in a more particular manner, from a letter written by Claudius Aquaviva, general of the Jesuits, in 1613, and addressed to all the members of his order. In this letter the prudent general modifies with great dexterity and caution the sentiments of Molina, and enjoins it upon the brethren of the society to teach every where the doctrine which

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The rise of Jansenism, and the contests it produced.

XL. The flame of controversy, which seemed thus extinguished, or at least covered, broke out again

represents the Supreme Being as electing, freely, to eternal life, without any regard had to their merits, those whom he has been pleased to render partakers of that inestimable blessing; but, at the same time, he exhorts them to inculcate this doctrine in such a manner, as not to give up the tenets relating to divine grace, which they had maintained in their controversy with the Dominicans. Never, surely, was such a contradictory exhortation or order heard of; the good general thought, nevertheless, that he could reconcile abundantly these contradictions, by that branch of the divine knowlege which is called, by the schoolmen, *scientia media*. See the Catechisme Historique sur les Dissensions de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 207.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, although their sentiments remain the same as they were before the commencement of this controversy, have learned to cast a kind of ambiguity and obscurity over their theological system, by using certain terms and expressions, which are manifestly borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits; and this they do to prevent the latter from reproaching them with a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin. They are, moreover, much less remarkable than formerly, for their zealous opposition to the Jesuits, which may be owing perhaps to prudent reflexions on the dangers they have been involved in by this opposition, and the fruitless pains and labor it has cost them. The Jansenists reproach them severely with this change of conduct, and consider it as a manifest and notorious apostasy from divine truth. See the Lettres Provinciales of Pascal, lettre ii.—We are not, however, to conclude, from this change of style and external conduct among the Dominicans, that they are reconciled to the Jesuits, and that there remain no traces of their ancient opposition to that perfidious order. By no means; for, besides that many of them are shocked at the excessive timidity or prudence of a great part of their brethren, the whole body retain some hidden sparks of the indignation with which they formerly beheld the Jesuits; and, when a convenient occasion of discovering this indignation is offered, they do not let it pass unimproved. The Jansenists are here embarked in the same cause with the Dominicans, since the sentiments of St. Thomas, concerning divine grace, differ very little from those of St. Augustine. Cardinal Henry Noris, the most eminently learned among the followers of the latter, expresses his concern, that he is not at liberty to publish what passed in favor of Augustine, and to the disadvantage of Molina and the Jesuits, in the famous congregation *de Auxiliis*, so often assembled by the popes Clement VIII. and Paul V. See his Vindiciæ Augustinianæ, cap. vi. p. 1175, tom. i. op.—"Quando," says he, "recentiori Romano decreto id vetitum est, cum dispendio causæ, quam defendo, necessariam defensionem omitto."

with new violence, in 1640, and formed a kind of schism in the church of Rome, which involved it in great perplexity, and proved highly detrimental to it in various respects. The occasion of these new troubles was the publication of a book, entitled Augustinus, composed by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and published after the death of the author[g]. In this book, which even the Jesuits acknowlege to be the production of a man of learning and piety, the doctrine of Augustine, concerning man's natural corruption, and the nature and efficacy of that divine grace, which alone can efface this unhappy stain, is unfolded at large, and illustrated, for the most part, in Augustine's own words: for the end, which Jansenius proposed to himself in this work, was not to give his own private sentiments concerning these important points, but to shew in what manner they had been understood and explained by that celebrated father of the church, now mentioned, whose name and authority were highly revered in all parts of the Roman-catholic world[h]. No incident could be more unfavorable to the cause of the Jesuits, and the pro-

[g] For an account of this famous man, see Bayle's *Dictionaire*.—Leydecker, de Vita et Morte Jansenii, lib. iii. which makes the first part of his History of Jansenism.—*Dictionaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i.—This celebrated work of Jansenius, which gave such a wound to the Romish church, as neither the power nor wisdom of its pontiffs will ever be able to heal, is divided into three parts. The first is historical, and contains a relation of the Pelagian controversy, which arose in the fifth century. In the second we find an accurate account and illustration of the doctrine of Augustine, relating to the Constitution and Powers of Human Nature, in its original, fallen, and renewed state. The third contains the doctrine of the same great man relating to the Aids of sanctifying Grace procured by Christ, and to the eternal Predestination of Men and Angels. The style of Jansenius is clear, but not sufficiently correct.

[h] Thus Jansenius expresses himself in his Augustinus, tom. ii. lib. prooemial. cap. xxix. p. 65.—Non ego hic de aliqua nova sententia reperienda disputo... sed de antiqua Augustini. Quæritur, non quid de naturæ humanæ statibus et viribus, vel de Dei gratia et prædestinatione sentiendum est, sed quid Augustinus olim, ecclesiæ nomine et applausu, tradiderit, prædicaverit, scriptoque multipliciter consignaverit."

CENT. XVII. gress of their religious system, than the publication of this book; for, as the doctrine of Augustine scarcely differed from that of the Dominicans[i]; as it was held sacred, and almost respected as divine, in the church of Rome, on account of the extraordinary merit and authority of that illustrious bishop, and, at the same time, was almost diametrically opposite to the sentiments generally received among the Jesuits, the latter could scarcely consider the book of Jansenius in any other light than as a tacit, but formidable refutation of their opinions concerning human liberty and divine grace; and accordingly, they not only drew their pens against this famous book, but also used their most zealous endeavours to obtain a public condemnation of it from Rome. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. The Roman inquisitors began the opposition by prohibiting the perusal of it, in 1741; and, in the following year, Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with various errors that had been long banished from the catholic church.

XLI. There were nevertheless places, even within the bounds of the Romish church, where neither the decisions of the inquisitors, nor the bull of the pontiff, were in the least respected. The doctors of Louvain in particular, and the followers of Augustine in general, who were very numerous in the Netherlands, opposed, with the utmost vigor, the proceedings of the Jesuits and the condemnation of Jansenius; and hence arose a warm contest, which proved a source of much trouble to the Belgic provinces. But it was not confined within such narrow limits; it reached the neighbouring countries, and broke out with peculiar vehemence in France, where the abbot of St. Cyran[k], a man of an elegant genius, and equally distinguished by the extent of his learning, the lustre of his piety, and the sanctity of his manners, had procured to Augustine many zealous followers, and to the Jesuits as many

[i] The Dominicans followed the sentiments of Thomas Aquinas concerning the nature and efficacy of Divine Grace.

[k] The name of this abbot was Jean du Verger de Haurane.

bitter and implacable adversaries[1]. This respectable abbot was the intimate friend and relative of Jansenius, and one of the most strenuous defenders of his doctrine. On the other hand, the far greater part of the French theologists appeared on the side of the Jesuits, whose religious tenets seemed more honorable to human nature, or, at least, more agreeable to its propensities, more suitable to the genius of the Romish religion, and more adapted to promote and advance the interests of the Romish church, than the doctrine of Augustine. The party of Jansenius had also its patrons; and they were such as reflected honor on the cause. In this respectable list we may reckon several bishops eminent for their piety, and some of the first and most elegant geniuses of the French nation, such as Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and Quesnel, and the other famous and learned men, who are known under the denomination of the Authors of Port-Royal. This party was also considerably augmented by a multitude of persons, who looked upon the usual practice of piety in the Romish church (which consists in the frequent use of the eucharist, the confession of sins, and the performance of certain external acts of religion) as much inferior to what the Gospel requires, and who considered Christian piety as the vital and internal principle of a soul, in which true faith and divine love have gained a happy ascendency. Thus one of the contending parties

CENT. XVII.

[1] This illustrious abbot is considered by the Jansenists as equal in merit and authority to Jansenius himself, whom he is supposed to have assisted in composing his Augustinus. The French, more especially (I mean such of them as adopt the doctrine of Augustine), revere him as an oracle, and even extol him beyond Jansenius. For an account of the life and transactions of this pious abbot, see Lancelot's Memoires touchant la Vie de M. de S. Cyran.—Recueil de plusieurs Pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal.—Arnaud D'Andilly, Memoires au sujet de l'Abbé de S. Cyran, published in the first volume of his Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal.—Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Jansenius.—Dictionaire des Livres Jansenistes, tom. i. For an account of the earlier studies of the abbot in question, see Gabriel Liron's Singularités Historiques et Literaires, tom. iv. p. 507.

CENT. XVII. excelled in the number and power of its votaries, the other in the learning, genius, and piety of its adherents; and, things being thus balanced, it is not difficult to comprehend, how a controversy, which began about a century ago, should be still carried on with vehement contention and ardor [m].

The methods and arguments employed by both parties in this controversy.

XLII. Those who have taken an attentive view of this long, and indeed endless controversy, cannot but think it a matter both of curiosity and amusement to observe the contrivances, stratagems, arguments, and arts employed by both Jesuits and Jansenists; by the former in their methods of attack, and by the latter in their plans of defence. The Jesuits came forth into the field of controversy, armed with sophistical arguments, odious comparisons, papal bulls, royal edicts, and the protection of a great part of the nobility and bishops; and, as if all this had appeared to them insufficient, they had recourse to still more formidable auxiliaries, even the secular arm, and a competent number of dragoons. The Jansenists, far from being dismayed at the view of this warlike host, stood their ground with steadiness and intrepidity. They evaded the seemingly mortal blows that were leveled at them in the royal and papal mandates, by the help of nice interpretations and subtile distinctions, and by the very same sophistical refinements which they blamed in the Jesuits. To the threats and frowns of the nobles and bishops, who protected their adversaries, they opposed the favor and applause

[m] The history of this contest is to be found in many authors, who have either given a relation of the whole, or treated apart some of its most interesting branches. The writers that ought to be principally consulted on this subject are the following: Gerberon, Histoire Generale du Jansenisme, published at Amsterdam in 1700; and Du-Mas, Histoire des Cinq Propositions de Jansenius. The former maintains the cause of the Jansenists, while the latter favors that of the Jesuits.—Add, to these, Melch. Leydecker's Historia Jansenismi, and Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV. Several books, written on both sides, are enumerated in the Bibliotheque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux Livres Jansenistes, the author of which is said to be Domin. Colonia, a learned Jesuit.

of the people; to sophisms they opposed sophisms, and invectives to invectives; and to human power they opposed the Divine Omnipotence, and boasted of the miracles by which Heaven had declared itself in their favor. When they perceived that the strongest arguments, and the most respectable authorities, were insufficient to conquer the obstinacy of their adversaries, they endeavoured by their religious exploits, and their application to the advancement of piety and learning, to obtain the favor of the pontiffs, and strengthen their interest with the people. Hence they declared war against the enemies of the Romish church; formed new stratagems to ensnare and ruin the protestants; took extraordinary pains in instructing the youth in all the liberal arts and sciences; drew up a variety of useful, accurate, and elegant abridgements, containing the elements of philosophy and the learned languages; published a multitude of treatises on practical religion and morality, whose persuasive eloquence charmed all ranks and orders of men; introduced and cultivated an easy, correct, and agreeable manner of writing; and gave accurate and learned interpretations of several ancient authors. To all these various kinds of merit, the greatest part of which were real and solid, they added others that were at least visionary and chimerical; for they endeavoured to persuade, and did in effect persuade many, that the Supreme Being interposed particularly in support of their cause, and, by prodigies and miracles of a stupendous kind, confirmed the truth of the doctrine of Augustine, in a manner adapted to remove all doubt, and triumph over all opposition [n].

[n] It is well known that the Jansenists, or Augustinians, have long pretended to confirm their doctrine by miracles; and they even acknowlege, that these miracles have sometimes saved them, when their affairs have been reduced to a desperate situation. See the Memoires de Port-Royal, tom. i. p. 256, tom. ii. p. 107.—The first time we hear mention made of these miracles, is in 1656, and the following years, when a thorn of the derisive crown that was put upon our Saviour's head by the Roman soldiers, is reported to have performed several marvellous cures

CENT. XVII. All this rendered the Jansenists extremely popular, and held the victory of the Jesuits for some time

in the convent of Port-Royal. See the Recueil de plusieurs Pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal, p. 228, 448; and Fontaine's collections upon the same subject, tom. ii.—Other prodigies followed in 1661 and 1664; and the fame of these miracles rose to a great height during the last century, and proved singularly advantageous to the cause of the Jansenists; but they are now fallen, even in France, into oblivion and discredit. The Jansenists, therefore, of the present age, being pressed by their adversaries, were obliged to have recourse to new prodigies, as the old ones had entirely lost their credit; and they seemed, indeed, to have had miracles at command, by the considerable number they pretended to perform. Thus (if we are credulous enough to believe their reports), in 1725, a woman, whose name was La Fosse, was *suddenly* cured of a bloody flux, by imploring the aid of the host, when it was, one day, carried by a *Jansenist* priest. About two years after this, we are told, that the tomb of Gerard Rousse, a canon of Avignon, was honored with miracles of a stupendous kind; and finally, we are informed, that the same honor was conferred, in 1731, on the bones of the abbé de Paris, which were interred at St. Medard, where innumerable miracles are said to have been wrought. This last story has given rise to the warmest contests, between the superstitious or crafty Jansenists and their adversaries in all communions. Beside all this, Quesnel, Levier, Desangins, and Tournus, the great ornaments of Jansenism, are said to have furnished extraordinary succours, on several occasions, to sick and infirm persons, who testified a lively confidence in their prayers and *merits*. See a famous Jansenist book composed in answer to the *Bull Unigenitus*, and entitled, Jesus Christ sous l'Anatheme et sous l'Excommunication, art. xvii. xviii.—There is no doubt that a great part of the Jansenists defend these miracles from principle, and in consequence of a persuasion of their truth and reality; for that party abounds with persons, whose piety is blended with a most superstitious credulity, who look upon their religious system as celestial truth, and their cause as the immediate cause of Heaven, and who are consequently disposed to think that it cannot be neglected by the Deity, or left without extraordinary marks of his approbation and supporting presence. It is however amazing, and almost incredible, on the other hand, that the more judicious defenders of this cause, those eminent Jansenists, whose sagacity, learning, and good sense, discover themselves so abundantly in other matters, do not consider that the powers of nature, the efficacy of proper remedies, or the effects of imagination, produce many important changes and effects, which, from imposture, or a blind attachment to some particular cause, many are led to attribute to the miraculous interposition of the Deity. We can easily account for the delusions of weak enthu-

dubious; and it is more than probable, that the former would have triumphed, had not the cause of the latter been the cause of the papacy, and had not the stability and grandeur of the Romish church depended in a great measure upon the success of their religious maxims.

Five propositions of Jansenius condemned by Innocent X.

XLIII. It appears from several circumstances, that Urban VIII., and after him Innocent X., were really bent on appeasing these dangerous tumults, in the same manner as the popes in former times had prudently suppressed the controversies excited by Baius and the Dominicans. But the vivacity, inconstancy, and restless spirit of the French doctors, threw all into confusion, and disconcerted the measures of the pontiffs. The opposers of the doctrine of Augustine selected five propositions out of the work of Jansenius already mentioned, which appeared to them the most erroneous in their nature, and the most pernicious in their tendency; and, being set on by the instigation, and seconded by the influence of the Jesuits, employed their most zealous endeavours and their most importunate entreaties, at the court of Rome, to have these propositions condemned. On the other hand, a great part of the Gallican clergy used their utmost efforts to prevent this condemnation; and, for that purpose, they sent deputies to Rome, to entreat Innocent to suspend his final decision until the true sense of these propositions should be deliberately examined, since the ambiguity of style, in which they were expressed, rendered them susceptible of a false interpretation. But these entreaties were ineffectual: the interest and importunities of the Jesuits prevailed; and the pontiff, without examining the merits of the cause with a suitable degree of impartiality and attention,

siasts, or the tricks of egregious impostors; but when we see men of piety and judgement appearing in defence of such miracles as those now under consideration, we must conclude, that they look upon fraud as lawful in the support of a good cause, and make no scruple of deceiving the people, when they propose, by this delusion, to confirm and propagate what they take to be the truth.

CENT. XVII. condemned, by a public bull, on the 31st of May, 1653, the propositions of Jansenius. These propositions contained the following doctrines: 1. "That there are divine precepts which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are, nevertheless, absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace, which is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience: 2. That no person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace, when it operates upon the mind: 3. That, in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not requisite that they be exempt from necessity, but only that they be free from constraint[o]: 4. That the Semi-Pelagians err grievously in maintaining, that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving or resisting the aids and influences of preventing grace: 5. That whosoever affirms, that Jesus Christ made expiation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, is a Semi-Pelagian."—Of these propositions the pontiff declared the first four only heretical; but he pronounced the fifth rash, impious, and injurious to the Supreme Being[p].

Alexander VII. publishes a bull against Jansenius.

XLIV. This sentence of the supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful to the Jansenists, and in consequence highly agreeable to their adversaries. It did not however either drive the former to despair, or satisfy the latter to the extent of their desires; for, while the *doctrine* was condemned, the *man* escaped. Jansenius was not named in the bull, nor did the pontiff even declare that the five propositions

[o] Augustine, Leibnitz, and a considerable number of modern philosophers, who maintain the doctrine of necessity, consider this necessity, in moral actions, as consistent with true liberty, because it is consistent with spontaneity and choice. According to them, constraint alone and external force destroy merit and imputation.

[p] This bull is still extant in the Bullarium Romanum, tom. vi. p. 456. It has also been published, together with several other pieces relating to this controversy, by Du-Plessis D'Argentre, in his Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus, tom. iii. p. ii.

were maintained, in the book entitled Augustinus, in the sense in which he had condemned them. Hence the disciples of Augustine and Jansenius defended themselves by a distinction invented by the ingenious and subtile Arnaud, in consequence of which they considered separately in this controversy the matter of doctrine and the matter of fact; that is to say, they acknowleged themselves bound to believe, that the five propositions were justly condemned by the pontiff[q]; but they maintained, that the pope had not declared, and consequently that they were not bound to believe, that these propositions were to be found in Jansenius' book, in the sense in which they had been condemned[r]. They did not however enjoy long the benefit of this artful distinction. The restless and invincible hatred of their enemies pursued them in every quarter where they looked for protection or repose, and at length engaged Alexander VII., the successor of Innocent, to declare, by a solemn bull, issued in 1656, that the five condemned propositions were the tenets of Jansenius, and were contained in his book. The pontiff did not stop here; but to this flagrant instance of imprudence added another still more shocking; for, in 1665, he sent into France the form of a declaration, that was to be subscribed by all those who aspired to any preferment in the church, and in which it was affirmed, that the five propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they had been condemned by the church[s]. This declaration, whose temerity and contentious tendency appeared in the most odious colors, not only to the Jansenists, but also to the wiser part of the French nation, produced deplorable divisions and tumults. It was immediately opposed with vigor by the Jansenists, who maintained,

☞ [q] This was what our author calls the *quæstio de jure*.

☞ [r] This is the *quæstio de facto*.

[s] This bull, and several other pieces, are also to be found in D'Argentre's Collectio Judiciorum, tom. iii.—See the form of Alexander's declaration, with the Mandate of Louis XIV. *ibid.*

CENT. XVII. that in matters of fact the pope was fallible, especially when his decisions were merely personal, and not confirmed by a general council; and, in consequence, that it was neither obligatory nor necessary to subscribe this papal declaration, which had only a matter of fact for its object. The Jesuits, on the contrary, audaciously asserted, even openly, in the city of Paris, and in the face of the Gallican church, that faith and confidence in the papal decisions relating to matter of fact, had no less the characters of a well-grounded and divine faith, than when these decisions related merely to matters of doctrine and opinion. It is to be remarked, on the other hand, that all the Jansenists were by no means so resolute and intrepid as those above-mentioned. Some of them declared, that they would neither subscribe nor reject the Form in question, but would shew their veneration for the authority of the pope, by observing a profound silence on that subject. Others professed themselves ready to subscribe it, not indeed without exception and reserve, but on condition of being allowed to explain, either verbally or in writing, the sense in which they understood it, or the distinctions and limitations with which they were willing to adopt it. Others employed a variety of methods and stratagems to elude the force of this tyrannical declaration [t]. But nothing of this kind was sufficient to satisfy the violent demands of the Jesuits; nothing less than the entire ruin of the Jansenists could appease their fury. Such, therefore, among the latter, as made the least opposition to the declaration in question, were thrown into prison, or sent into exile, or involved in some other species of persecution; and it is well known, that this severity was a consequence of the suggestions of the Jesuits, and of their influence in cabinet-councils.

[t] See Du-Mas, Histoire des Cinq Propositions, p. 158.—Gerberon, Histoire Generale du Jansenisme, p. ii. p. 516.

This persecution is suspended under the pontificate of Clement IX.—The suspension commonly called the Peace of Clement.

XLV. The lenity or prudence of Clement IX. suspended, for a while, the calamities of those who had sacrificed their liberty and their fortunes to their zeal for the doctrine of Augustine, and gave them both time to breathe, and reason to hope for better days. This change, which happened in 1669, was occasioned by the fortitude and resolution of the bishops of Angers, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Alet, who obstinately and gloriously refused to subscribe, without the proper explications and distinctions, the oath or declaration that had produced such troubles and divisions in the church. They did not indeed stand alone in the breach; for, when the court of Rome began to menace and level its thunder at their heads, nineteen bishops more arose with a noble intrepidity, and adopted their cause, in solemn remonstrances, addressed both to the king of France and the pontiff. These resolute protesters were joined by Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, duchess of Longueville, a heroine of the first rank both in birth and magnanimity, who, having renounced the pleasures and vanities of the world, which had long employed her most serious thoughts, espoused, with a devout ardor, the doctrines and cause of the Jansenists, and most earnestly implored the pope's clemency in their behalf. Moved by these entreaties, and also by other arguments and considerations of like moment, Clement became so indulgent as to accept a conditional subscription to the famous declaration, and to permit doctors of scrupulous consciences to sign it according to the mental interpretation they thought proper to give it. This instance of condescension and lenity was no sooner made public, than the Jansenists began to come forth from their lurking-places, to return from their voluntary exile, and to enjoy their former tranquillity and freedom, being exempt from all uneasy apprehensions of any farther persecution.

This remarkable event is commonly called the Peace of Clement IX.; its duration, nevertheless,

CENT. XVII. was but transitory [u]. It was violated in 1676, at the instigation of the Jesuits, by Louis XIV., who declared, in a public edict, that it had only been granted for a time, out of a condescending indulgence to the tender and scrupulous consciences of a certain number of persons; and it was totally abolished after the death of the duchess of Longueville, which happened in 1679, and deprived the Jansenists of their principal support. From that time their calamities were renewed, and they were pursued with the same malignity and rage that they had before experienced. Some of them avoided the rising storm by a voluntary exile; others sustained it with invincible fortitude and constancy of mind; others turned aside its fury, and escaped its violence, as well as they could, by dexterity and prudence. Antoine Arnaud, who was

[u] The transactions relating to this event, which were carried on under the pontificate of Clement IX. are circumstantially related by cardinal Rospigliosi, in his Commentaries, which Du-Plessis D'Argentre has subjoined to his Elementa Theologica, published at Paris, in 1716. See also the last-mentioned author's Collectio Judiciorum, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 336, in which the letters of Clement are inserted. Two Jansenists have written the History of the Clementine Peace.—Varet, vicar to the archbishop of Sens, in an anonymous work, entitled, Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'Affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clement IX.; and Quesnel, in an anonymous production also, entitled, La Paix de Clement IX. ou Demonstration des deux Faussetés capitales avancées dans l'Histoire des Cinq Propositions contre la Foi des Disciples de St. Augustin. That Varet was the author of the former work is asserted in the Catechisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 352; and that the latter came from the pen of Quesnel, we learn from the writer of the Bibliotheque Janseniste, p. 314.—There was another accurate and interesting account of this transaction published in 1706, under the following title: Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans l'Affaire de la Paix de l' Eglise sous le Pape Clement IX. avec les Lettres, Actes, Memoires, et autres Pieces qui y ont rapport.—The important services that the duchess of Longueville rendered to the Jansenists in this affair are related with elegance and spirit by Villefort, in his Vie d'Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville, tom. ii. livr. vi. p. 89, of the edition of Amsterdam (1739), which is more ample and complete than the edition of Paris.

the head and leader of the party, fled into the Netherlands in 1679 [w]; and in this retreat he not only escaped the fury of his enemies, but had it in his power to hurt them considerably, and actually made the Jesuits feel the weight of his talents and the extent of his influence. For the admirable eloquence and sagacity of this great man gave him such an ascendency in the Netherlands, that the greatest part of the churches there embraced his opinions, and adopted his cause; the Romish congregations in Holland also were, by his influence, and the ministry of his intimate friends and adherents, John Neercassel and Peter Coddeus, bishops of Castorie and Sebasto [x], entirely gained over to the Jansenist party. The latter churches still persevere with the utmost steadiness in the principles of Jansenism; and, secured under the protection of the Dutch government, defy the threats, and hold in derision the resentment, of the Roman pontiffs [y].

The austere piety of the Jansenists.

XLVI. It is not only on account of their embracing the doctrine of Augustine concerning divine grace (a doctrine which bears a striking resemblance to that of the Calvinists), that the Jansenists have incurred the displeasure and resentment of the Jesuits. They are charged with many other circumstances, which appear intolerable to the warm votaries of the church of Rome. And, indeed, it is certain, that the various controversies, which have been mentioned above,

[w] For an account of this great man, see Bayle's Dictionary, and the Histoire abregée de la Vie et des Ouvrages de M. Arnaud, published at Cologne. The change introduced into the Romish churches in Holland is mentioned by Lafitau, Vie de Clement XI. tom. i. p. 123. For an account of Coddeus, Neercassel, and Varet, and the other patrons of Jansenism among the Dutch, see the Dictionaire des Livres Jansenistes, tom. i. ii. iv.

[x] Bishops *in partibus infidelium.*

☞ [y] It must however be observed, that, notwithstanding the ascendency which the Jansenists have in Holland, the Jesuits, for some time past, have by artifice and disguise gained a considerable footing among the Romish churches that are tolerated by the republic.

CENT. XVII. were excited in that church principally by the Jansenists, and have been propagated and handed down by them, even to our times, in a prodigious multitude of their books published both in France and in the Netherlands [z]. But that which offends most the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the pontiff, is the austere severity that reigns in the system of moral discipline and practical religion adopted by the Jansenists. For the members of this sect cry out against the corruptions of the church of Rome, and complain that neither its doctrines nor morals retain any traces of their former purity. They reproach the clergy with an universal depravation of sentiments and manners, and an entire forgetfulness of the dignity of their character, and the duties of their vocation. They censure the licentiousness of the monastic orders, and insist upon the necessity of reforming their discipline according to the rules of sanctity, abstinence, and self-denial, that were originally prescribed by their respective founders. They maintain, also, that the people ought to be carefully instructed in all the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and that, for this purpose, the Scriptures and public liturgies should be offered to their perusal in their mother-tongue; and, finally, they look upon it as a matter of the highest moment to persuade all Christians that true piety does not consist in the observance of pompous rites, or in the performance of external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness and divine love.

These sentiments of the Jansenists, on a general view, seem just and rational, and suitable to the spirit and genius of Christianity; but, when we examine the particular branches into which they extend these general principles, the consequences they deduce from them, and the manner in which they apply them, in their rules of discipline and practice, we shall find, that the piety of this famous party is deeply tinged both with superstition and fana-

[z] See Hist. Eccles. Rom. sæc. xvi. sect. xxxi.

ticism; that it more especially favors the harsh and enthusiastical opinion of the Mystics; and, in consequence, that the Jansenists are not undeservedly branded by their adversaries with the appellation of Rigorists [a]. This denomination they merited

[a] They who desire to form a just notion of the dismal piety of the Jansenists (which carries the unseemly features of the gloomy devotion that was formerly practised by fanatical hermits in the deserts of Syria, Libya, and Egypt, but is entirely foreign from the dictates of reason and the amiable spirit of Christianity), have only to peruse the epistles and other writings of the abbot of St. Cyran, who is the great oracle of the party. This abbot was a well-meaning man; and his piety, such as it was, carried in it the marks of sincerity and fervor; he was also superior, perhaps, as a pastor, to the greatest part of the Roman catholic doctors; and his learning, more especially his knowlege of religious antiquity, was very considerable: but to propose this man as a complete and perfect model of *genuine* piety, and as a most accurate and accomplished teacher of *Christian* virtue, is an absurdity peculiar to the Jansenists, and can be adopted by no person who knows what genuine piety and Christian virtue are. That we may not seem to detract rashly, and without reason, from the merit of this eminent man, it will not be improper to confirm what we have said by some instances. This good abbot, having undertaken to vanquish the *heretics* (*i. e.* the protestants) in a prolix and extensive work, was obliged to read, or at least to look into the various writings published by that *impious tribe;* and this he did in company with his nephew Martin de Barcos, who resembled him entirely in his sentiments and manners. But before he would venture to open a book composed by a protestant, he constantly marked it with the sign of the cross, to expel the evil spirit. What weakness and superstition did this ridiculous proceeding discover! for the good man was persuaded that Satan had fixed his residence in the books of the protestants; but it is not so easy to determine where he imagined the wicked spirit lay, whether in the paper, in the letters, between the leaves, or in the doctrines of these *infernal* productions. Let us see the account that is given of this matter by Lancelot, in his Memoires touchant la Vie de M. l'Abbé de S. Cyran, tom. i. p. 226. His words are as follow: "Il lisoit ces livres avec tant de piété, qu'en les prenant il les exorcisoit toujours en faisant la signe de la croix dessus, ne doutant point que le demon n'y residoit actuellement." His attachment to Augustine was so excessive, that he looked upon as sacred and divine even those opinions of that great man, which the wiser part of the Romish doctors had rejected as erroneous and highly dangerous. Such (among others) was the extravagant and pernicious tenet, that the saints are the only

CENT. XVII. in a peculiar manner, by their doctrine concerning repentance and penance, whose tendency, considered

lawful proprietors of the world, and that the wicked have no right, by the divine law, to those things which they possess justly, in consequence of the decisions of human law. To this purpose is the following assertion of our abbot, as we find it in Fontaine's Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal, tom. i. p. 201. "Jesus Christ n'est encore entré dans la possession de son royaume temporel, et des biens du monde qui lui appartiennent, que par cette *petite portion* qu'en tient l'eglise par les benefices de ses clercs, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les depositaires de Jesus Christ." If, therefore, we are to give credit to this visionary man, the golden age is approaching, when Jesus Christ, having pulled down the mighty from their seats, and dethroned the kings and princes of the earth, shall reduce the whole world under his sole dominion, and give it over to the government of priests and monks, who are the princes of his church.—After we have seen such sentiments as these maintained by their oracle and chief, it is natural to be surprised when we hear the Jansenists boasting of their zeal in defending sovereign states, and in general the civil rights of mankind, against the stratagems and usurpations of the pontiffs.

The notions of the abbot of St. Cyran concerning prayer, which breathe the fanatical spirit of mysticism, will farther confirm what we have said of his propensity to enthusiasm. It was, for example, a favorite maxim with him, that the Christian who prays, ought never to recollect the good things he stands in need of in order to ask them of God, since true prayer does not consist in distinct notions and clear ideas of what we are doing in that solemn act, but in a certain blind impulse of divine love. Such is the account given of the abbot's sentiments on this head by Lancelot, tom. ii. p. 44.—"Il ne croyoit pas, (says that author) que l'on pût faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer a quelque point, ou a quelque pensee particuliere—parce que la veritable priere est plutôt un attrait de son amour, qui emporte notre cœur vers lui, et nous enleve comme hors de nous-mêmes, qu'une occupation de notre esprit, qui se remplisse de l'idée de quelque objet quoique divin." According to this hypothesis, the man prays best who neither *thinks* nor *asks* in that act of devotion. This is, indeed, a very extraordinary account of the matter, and contains an idea of prayer which seems to have been quite unknown to Christ, and his apostles; for the former has commanded us to address our prayers to God in a set form of words; and the latter frequently tell us the subjects of their petitions and supplications.

But, of all the errors of this Arch-Jansenist, not one was so pernicious as the fanatical notion he entertained of his being the *residence* of the Deity, the *instrument* of the Godhead, by which the divine nature itself essentially operated. It was in conse-

both in a civil and religious point of view, is singularly pernicious; for they make repentance consist chiefly in those voluntary sufferings, which the transgressor inflicts upon himself, in proportion to the nature of his crimes and the degree of his guilt. As their notions of the extent of man's original corruption are greatly exaggerated, they prescribe remedies to it that are of the same nature. They look upon Christians as bound to expiate this original guilt by acts of mortification performed in solitude and silence, by torturing and macerating their bodies, by painful labor, excessive abstinence, continual prayer and contemplation; and they hold every person obliged to increase these voluntary pains and sufferings, in proportion to the degree of corruption derived by each from nature, or contracted by a vicious and licentious course of life. They even carry these austerities to so high a pitch, that they do not scruple to call those *holy* self-tormentors, who have gradually put an end to their days by excessive abstinence or labor, the 'sacred victims of repentance, 'that have been *consumed* by the fire of divine love.' Not satisfied with this fanatical language, they go still farther, and superstitiously maintain, that the conduct of these self-murderers is peculiarly meritorious in the eye of Heaven; and that their sufferings, macerations, and labors, appease the anger of the Deity, and not only contribute to their own felicity,

quence of this dangerous principle, that he recommended it as a duty incumbent on all pious men to follow, without consulting their judgement or any other guide, the first motions and impulses of their minds, as the dictates of Heaven. And indeed the Jansenists, in general, are intimately persuaded, that God operates immediately upon the minds of those who have composed, or rather suppressed, all the motions of the understanding and of the will, and that to such he declares, from above, his intentions and commands; since whatever thoughts, inclinations, or designs, arise within them, in this calm state of tranquillity and silence, are to be considered as the direct suggestions and oracles of the divine wisdom. See, for a farther account of this pestilential doctrine, the Memoires de Port-Royal, tom. iii. p. 246.

CENT. XVII. but draw down abundant blessings upon their friends and upon the church. We might confirm this account by various examples, and more especially by that of the famous abbé de Paris, the great wonder-worker of the Jansenists, who put himself to a most painful death, in order to satisfy the justice of an incensed God[b]: such was the picture he had formed of the best of beings in his disordered fancy.

The convent of Port-Royal.

XLVII. A striking example of this austere, forbidding, and extravagant species of devotion, was exhibited in that celebrated female convent called Port-Royal in the Fields, which was situated in a retired, deep, and gloomy vale, not far from Paris. Henry IV. committed the inspection and government of this austere society, about the commencement of this century, to Jaqueline, daughter of Antoine Arnaud[c], who, after her conversion, assumed the name of Marie Angelique de la Sainte-Madelaine. This lady had at first led a very dissolute life[d], which was the general case of the cloistered fair in France about this period; but a remarkable change happened in her sentiments and manners, in 1609, when she resolved no more to live like a nun, but to consecrate her future days to deep devotion and penitential exercises. This holy resolution was strengthened by her acquaintance with the famous François de Sales, and

[b] See Morin's Com. de Pœnitentiâ, præf. p. 3, in which there is a tacit censure of the penance of the Jansenists.—See, on the other hand, the Memoires de Port-Royal.—The Jansenists, among all the meritorious actions of the abbot of St. Cyran, find none more worthy of admiration and applause than his restoring from oblivion the true system of penitential discipline; and they consider him as the second author or parent of the doctrine of penance. This very doctrine, however, was one of the principal reasons of his being committed to prison by the order of cardinal Richelieu.

[c] An eminent lawyer, and father to the famous Arnaud, doctor of the Sorbonne.

☞ [d] The dissolute life imputed to this abbess by Dr. Mosheim is an egregious mistake, which seems to have proceeded from his misunderstanding a passage in Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. p. 338, note [f], the fourth French edition.

the abbot of St. Cyran. The last of these pious connexions she formed in 1623, and regulated both her own conduct and the manners of her convent by the doctrine and example of these devout men. Hence it happened, that, during the whole course of this century, the convent of Port-Royal excited the indignation of the Jesuits, the admiration of the Jansenists, and the attention of Europe. The holy virgins observed, with the utmost rigor and exactness, that ancient rule of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where abrogated on account of its excessive and intolerable austerity: they even went beyond its most cruel demands[e]. Such was the fame of this

[e] There is a prodigious multitude of books still extant, in which the rise, progress, laws, and sanctity, of this famous convent, are described and extolled by eminent Jansenists, who, at the same time, deplore its fate in the most doleful strains. Of this multitude we shall mention those only which may easily be procured, and which contain the most modern and circumstantial accounts of that celebrated establishment.—The Benedictines of St. Maur have given an exact, though dry history of this convent in their Gallia Christiana, tom. vii. A more elegant and agreeable account of it, charged, however, with imperfection and partiality, was composed by the famous poet Racine, under the title of Abrégé de l'Histoire de Port-Royal, and was published, after having passed through many editions, in the year 1750, at Amsterdam, among the works of his son Louis Racine, tom. ii. The external state and form of this convent are professedly described by Moleon, in his Voyages Liturgiques, p. 234.—Add, to these, Nic. Fontaine's Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal, published in 1738.—The Memoires (by Du-Fosse) pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal; and the Recueil de plusieurs Pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal.—The editor of this last compilation promises, in his preface, farther collections of pieces relative to the same subject, and seems to insinuate, that a complete history of Port-Royal, drawn from these and other valuable and authentic records, will sooner or later see the light. See, beside the authors abovementioned, Lancelot's Memoires touchant la Vie de l'Abbé de St. Cyran. All these authors confine their relations to the external form and various revolutions of this nunnery. Its internal state, its rules of discipline, the manners of its virgins, and the incidents and transactions that happened between them and the holy neighbourhood of Jansenists, are described and related by another set of writers. See the Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal, et à la Vie de Marie Angelique

devout sisterhood, that multitudes of pious persons were ambitious to dwell in the neighbourhood of Port-Royal, and that a great part of the Jansenist Penitents, or self-tormentors, of both sexes, built huts without its precincts, where they imitated the manners of those austere and gloomy fanatics, who, in the fourth and fifth centuries, retired into the wild and uncultivated places of Syria and Egypt, and were commonly called the Fathers of the Desert. The end which these penitents had in view was, by silence, hunger, thirst, prayer, bodily labor, watchings, sorrow, and other voluntary acts of self-denial, to efface the guilt, and remove the pollution which the soul had derived from natural corruptions or evil habits[f]. They did not, however, all observe the

D'Arnaud, published at Utrecht in 1742; also the Vies interessantes et edifiantes des Religieuses de Port-Royal, et de plusieurs Personnes qui leur etoient attachées; and, for an account of the suppression and abolition of this convent, see the Memoires sur la Destruction de l'Abbaye de Port-Royal des Champs. If we do not mistake, all these histories and relations have been much less serviceable to the reputation of this famous convent than the Jansenist party are willing to think. When we view Arnaud, Tillemont, Nicole, Le Maitre, and the other authors of Port-Royal, in their learned productions, they then appear truly great; but, when we lay aside their works, and, taking up these histories of Port-Royal, see these great men in private life, in the constant practice of that austere discipline of which the Jansenists boast so foolishly, they shrink almost to nothing, appear in the contemptible light of fanatics, and seem totally unworthy of the fame they have acquired. When we read the Discourses that Isaac le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, pronounced at the bar, together with his other ingenious productions, we cannot refuse him the applause that is due to such an elegant and accomplished writer; but when we meet with this polite author at Port-Royal, mixed with laborers and reapers, and with the spade or the sickle in his hand, he certainly makes a ludicrous or comical figure, and can scarcely be looked upon as perfectly right in his head.

[f] Among the most eminent of these penitents was Isaac le Maitre, a celebrated advocate at Paris, whose eloquence had procured him a shining reputation, and who, in 1637, retired to Port-Royal to make expiation for his sins. The retreat of this eminent man raised new enemies to the abbot of St. Cyran. See the Memoires pour l'Histoire de Port-Royal, tom. i. p. 223. The example of Le Maitre was followed by some persons of the

same discipline, or follow the same kind of application and labor. The more learned consumed their strength in composing laborious productions filled with sacred and profane erudition, and some of these have, no doubt, deserved well of the republic of letters: others were employed in teaching youth the rudiments of language and the principles of science; but the far greatest part exhausted both the health of their bodies and the vigor of their minds in servile industry and rural labor, and thus pined away by a slow kind of death. What is singularly surprising is, that many of these voluntary victims of an inhuman piety were persons illustrious both by their birth and stations, who, after having distinguished themselves in civil or military employments, debased themselves so far in this penitential retreat, as to assume the character, offices, and labors of the lowest servants.

This celebrated retreat of the devout and austere Jansenists was subject to many vicissitudes during the whole course of this century: at one time it flourished in unrivaled glory; at another, it seemed eclipsed, and on the brink of ruin. At length, however, the period of its extinction approached. The nuns obstinately refused to subscribe the declaration of pope Alexander VII., that has been so often mentioned; on the other hand, their convent and rule of discipline were considered as detrimental to the interests of the kingdom, and a dishonor to some of the first families in France; hence Louis XIV., in 1709, instigated by the violent counsels of the Jesuits, ordered the convent to be suppressed, the whole building to be leveled with the ground, and the nuns to be removed to Paris. And, lest there should still remain some secret fuel to nourish the flame of superstition in that place, hè ordered the very carcases of the nuns and devout Jansenists to be dug up and buried elsewhere.

highest distinction, and by a great number of persons of all ranks. See the Vies des Religieuses de Port-Royal, tom. i. p. 141.

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The controversy concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.

XLVIII. The other controversies that disturbed the tranquillity of the church of Rome, were but light blasts when compared with this violent hurricane. The old debate, however, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which was maintained by the former, and denied by the latter, gave much trouble and perplexity to the pontiffs, and more especially to Paul V., Gregory XV., and Alexander VII. The kingdom of Spain was so agitated and divided into factions by this controversy, in the former part of this century, that solemn ambassies were sent to Rome, both by Philip III. and his successor, with a view to engage the Roman pontiff to determine the question, or, at any rate, to put an end to the contest by a public edict. But, notwithstanding the weighty solicitations of these monarchs, the oracle of Rome pronounced nothing but ambiguous words; and its high priests prudently avoided coming to a plain and positive decision of the affair. If they were awed, on one hand, by the warm remonstrances of the Spanish court, which favored the sentiment of the Franciscans, they were restrained, on the other, by the credit and influence of the Dominicans: so that, after the most earnest entreaties and importunities, all that could be obtained from the pontiff, by the court of Spain, was a declaration, intimating that the opinion of the Franciscans had a high degree of probability on its side, and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in a public manner; but this declaration was accompanied with another[g], by which the Francis-

[g] See Fred. Ulr. Calixti Historia Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. Virginis Mariæ, published in 1696.—Hornbeckii Comm. ad Bullam Urbani VIII. de diebus Festis, p. 250.—Launoii Præscriptiones de Conceptu Virginis Mariæ, tom. i. p. i. oper.—Long after this period, Clement XI. went a step farther, and appointed, in 1708, a festival to be celebrated, in honor of the immaculate conception, throughout the Romish church. See the Memoires de Trevoux for the year 1709, art. xxxviii. p. 514. But the Dominicans obstinately deny that the obligation of this law extends to them, and persist in maintaining their ancient

cans were prohibited, in their turn, from treating as erroneous the doctrine of the Dominicans. This accommodation of the dispute would have been highly laudable in a prince or civil magistrate, who, unacquainted with theological questions of such an abstruse nature, preferred the tranquillity of his people to the discussion of such an intricate and unimportant point; but whether it was honorable to a supreme pontiff, who boasts of a divine right to decide all religious controversies, and pretends to a degree of inspiration that places him beyond the possibility of erring, we leave to the consideration of those who have his glory at heart.

Quietism, or the controversies occasioned by the doctrine of Molinos.

XLIX. The controversies with the Mystics were now renewed; and that sect, which in former times enjoyed such a high degree of reputation and authority, was treated with the greatest severity, and involved in the deepest distress, toward the conclusion of this century. This unhappy change in its affairs was principally occasioned by the fanaticism and imprudence of Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who resided at Rome, and the fame of whose ardent piety and devotion procured him a considerable number of disciples of both sexes. A book published at Rome in 1681, by this ecclesiastic, under the title of the Spiritual Guide, alarmed the doctors of the church [h].

doctrine, though with more modesty and circumspection than they formerly discovered in this debate; and when we consider that their opinion in this respect has never been expressly condemned by any pope, and that they are not in the least molested, or even censured, for refusing to celebrate the festival abovementioned, it appears evidently, from all this, that the terms of the papal edict are to be understood with certain restrictions, and interpreted in a mild and indulgent manner; and that the spirit of this edict is not contrary to the tenor of the former declarations of the pontiffs on this head. See Lamindus Pritanius (a fictitious name assumed by the author Muratori) de Ingeniorum Moderatione in Religionis Negotio, p. 254.

[h] This work, which was published in 1675, was honored with the approbation and encomiums of many eminent and respectable personages. It was translated into Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch, and passed through many editions. There is another

CENT. XVII. This book contained, beside the usual precepts and institutions of mystic theology, several notions relating to a spiritual and contemplative life, that seemed to revive the pernicious and infernal errors of the Beghards, and open a door to all sorts of licentiousness and profligacy. The principles of Molinos, which have been very differently interpreted by his friends and enemies, amount to this: "that the whole of religion consists in the perfect tranquillity of a mind removed from all external and finite things, and centred in God, and in such a pure love of the Supreme Being, as is independent of all prospect of interest or reward;" or, to express the doctrine of this Mystic, in other words, "The soul, in the pursuit of the supreme good, must retire from the reports and gratifications of sense, and, in general, from all corporeal objects, and, imposing silence upon all the motions of the understanding and will, must be absorbed in the Deity." Hence the denomination of Quietist was given to the followers of Molinos; though that of Mystic, which was their vulgar title, was more applicable, and expressed with greater propriety their fanatical system; for the doctrine of Molinos had no other circumstance of novelty attending it, than the singular terms he employed in unfolding his notions, and the ingenuity he discovered in digesting what the ancient Mystics had thrown out in the most confused and incoherent jargon, into something that looked like a system. The Jesuits, and other zealous votaries of Rome, soon perceived that his system was a tacit censure of the Romish church, as having departed from the spirit of true religion, by placing the essence of piety in external works, and in the performance of a certain round of

work of Molinos composed in the same spirit, concerning the daily celebration of the communion, which was also condemned. See the "Recueil de diverses Pieces concernant le Quietisme et les Quietistes, ou Molinos, ses Sentimens et ses Disciples," published at Amsterdam, in 1688, in which the reader will find a French translation of the Spiritual Guide, together with a collection of letters on various subjects, written by Molinos.

ceremonies. But the warmest opposition that he met with was from the French ambassador[i] at Rome, who raised a most violent persecution against him. This made many imagine, that it was not his theological system alone that had inflamed the resentment of that minister, but that some considerations of a political nature had been blended with this famous controversy, and that the Spanish Mystic had opposed the designs and negotiations of the French monarch at the court of Rome. However that may have been, Molinos, unable to resist the storm, and abandoned by those from whom he chiefly expected succour, yielded to it in 1685, when, notwithstanding the number, rank, and credit of his friends at Rome, and the particular marks of favor he had received from the pontiff[k], he was thrown into prison. Two years after this, he was obliged to renounce, in a public manner, the errors of which he was accused; and this solemn recantation was followed by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, from which he was, in an advanced age, delivered by death, in 1696[l]. The candid and impartial will be obliged to acknowlege, that the opinions and expressions of this enthusiast were perfidiously misrepresented and perverted by the Jesuits and others, whose interest it was that he should be put out of the way, and excluded from every thing but contemplation and repose; and it is most certain, that his doctrine was charged with consequences which he neither approved nor even apprehended. But, on the other hand, it must also be confessed, that his system was chargeable with the

[i] Cardinal d'Estrées.

[k] Innocent XI.

[l] He was born in the diocese of Saragossa, in 1627; see the Biblioth. Janseniste, p. 469.—For an account of this controversy, see the Narrative of the Proceedings of the Controversy concerning Quietism, subjoined to the German translation of Burnet's Travels; as also Arnoldi Histor. Eccles. et Hæretic. tom. iii. c. xvii.—Jaegeri Histor. Eccles. et Polit. Sæculi xvii. decen. ix.—Plessis D'Argentre, Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus, tom. iii. p. 357, where may be seen the papal edicts relating to this controversy.

CENT. XVII. greatest part of the reproaches that are justly thrown upon the mystics, and favored much the illusions and follies of those fanatics, who would make the crude visions of their disordered fancies pass for divine revelations [m].

Followers of Molinos.

L. It would have been truly surprising had a system of piety, that was so adapted to seduce the indolent mind, to captivate the warm imagination, and melt the tender heart, been destitute of votaries and followers. This was by no means the case. In Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Molinos had a considerable number of disciples; and, beside the reasons we have now hinted, another circumstance must have contributed much to multiply his votaries; for, in all parts of the Romish dominion, there were numbers of persons, who had sense and knowlege enough to perceive, that the whole of religion could not consist in external rites and bodily mortifications, but too little to direct themselves in religious matters, or to substitute what was right in the place of what they knew to be wrong; and hence it was natural for them to follow the first plausible guide that was offered to them. But the church of Rome, apprehensive of the consequences of this mystic theology, left no method unemployed that could contribute to stop its progress; and, by the force of promises and threats, of severity and mildness properly applied, stifled in the birth the commotions and changes it seemed adapted to excite. The death of Molinos contributed also to dispel the anxiety of the Romish doctors, since his disciples and followers seemed too inconsiderable to deserve any notice. Among these are generally reckoned cardinal Petrucci, Francis de la Combe, a Barnabite friar, (the spiritual director of Madame Guyon), Francis Malavalle, Bernier de Louvigni, and others of less note. These enthusiasts, as is common among the Mystics, differ from Molinos

[m] All that can be alleged in defence of Molinos has been collected by Weisman, in his Histor. Ecclesiast. sæc. xvii.

in several points, and are also divided among themselves. This diversity is, however, rather nominal than real; and, if we consider the true signification of the terms by which they express their respective notions, we shall find that they all set out from the same principles, and tend to the same conclusions[n].

The case of Madame Guyon and Fenelon.

LI. One of the principal patrons and propagators of Quietism in France was Marie Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, a woman of fashion, remarkable for the goodness of her heart and the regularity of her manners, but of an inconstant and unsettled temper, and subject to be drawn away by the seduction of a warm and unbridled fancy. This female apostle of mysticism derived all her ideas of religion from the feelings of her own heart[o], and described its nature to others as she felt it herself; a manner of proceeding which is extremely uncertain and delusive. And, accordingly, her religious sentiments made a great noise in 1687, and gave offence to many. Hence, after they had been attentively and accurately examined by several men of eminent piety and learning, they were pronounced erroneous and unsound, and, in 1697, were professedly confuted by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy of still greater moment, between the prelate last-mentioned, and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose sublime virtue and superior

[n] The writings of these fanatics are enumerated and sharply criticised by Colonia, in the Bibliotheque Quietiste (which he has subjoined to his Bibliotheque Janseniste), p. 455, 488.—See also God. Arnoldi Historia et Descriptio Theologiæ Mysticæ, p. 364, and Poiret's Bibliotheca Mysticorum.

[o] The writings of this lady abound with childish allegories and mystic ejaculations. She wrote an account of her own life and spiritual adventures; but her principal production was La Bible de Mad. Guyon, avec des Explications et Reflexions qui regardent la Vie interieure. This Bible, with Annotations relating to the hidden or internal Life, was published in 1715, in twenty volumes in 8vo. and the notes abundantly discover the fertile imagination and shallow judgement of this female mystic.—See a farther account of her in the Letters of Mad. de Maintenon, tom. i. ii.

CENT. XVII. genius were beheld with veneration in all the countries of Europe. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were avowedly without either superiors or equals in France, the latter seemed disposed to favor the religious system of Madame Guyon; for, when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed in answer to the sentiments of that female mystic, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great partiality and injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were unmerited and groundless. Nor did the warm imagination of this amiable prelate permit him to stop here, where the dictates of prudence ought to have set bounds to his zeal; for, in the same year, he published a book [p], in which he adopted several of the tenets of Madame Guyon, and more especially that favorite doctrine of the Mystics, which teaches that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward [q]. This doctrine Fenelon explained with pathetic eloquence, and confirmed it by the authority of many of the most eminent and pious among the

[p] This book was entitled, Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie interieure. It has been translated into Latin.

☞ [q] This doctrine has thus far a foundation in reason and philosophy, that the moral perfections of the Deity are, in themselves, *intrinsically amiable*; and that their excellence is as much adapted to excite our esteem and love, as the experience of their beneficent effects in promoting our well-being, is to inflame our gratitude. The error, therefore, of the mystics lay in their drawing extravagant conclusions from a right principle, and in their requiring in their followers a perpetual abstraction and separation of ideas which are intimately connected, and, as it were, blended together, such as felicity and perfection; for, though these two are inseparable in fact, yet the mystics, from a fantastic pretension to disinterestedness, would separate them right or wrong, and turned their whole attention to the latter. In their views also of the Supreme Being, they overlooked the important relations he bears to us as *benefactor* and *rewarder*; relations which certainly give rise to noble sentiments and important duties; and confined their views to his supreme beauty, excellence, and perfection.

Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon as an obstacle to his glory, was highly exasperated by this opposition, and left no method unemployed which artifice and jealousy could suggest to mortify a rival whose illustrious merit had rendered him so formidable. For this purpose, he threw himself at the feet of Louis XIV., implored the pope's aid, and, by his importunities and stratagems, obtained the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This censure was pronounced, in 1699, by Innocent XII., who, in a public brief, declared that book unsound in general, and branded with peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions, specified by that Congregation which had been appointed to examine it. The book, however, was condemned alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his entire acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cambray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the papal decree [r]. This step was differently interpreted by different persons, according to their notions of this great man, or their respective ways of thinking. Some considered it as an instance of true magnanimity, as the mark of a meek and gentle spirit, that preferred the peace of the church to every private view of interest or glory. Others, less charitable, looked upon this submissive conduct as ignoble and pusillanimous, as denoting manifestly a want of integrity, inasmuch as it implied, that the prelate condemned with his lips

[r] An ample and impartial account of this controversy has been given by Toussaint du Plessis, a Benedictine, in his Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux, livr. v. tom. i. p. 485—523.—Ramsay, in his life of Fenelon, is less impartial, but is nevertheless worthy of being consulted on this subject. See Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 301.—The public acts and edicts relating to this controversy have been collected by M. du Plessis Argentre, in his Collectio Judiciorum, tom. iii.

CENT. XVII. what in his heart he believed to be true. One thing indeed seems generally agreed on; and that is, that Fenelon persisted, to the end of his days, in the sentiments which, in obedience to the order of the pope, he retracted and condemned in a public manner.

La Peyrere, White, Sfondrati, and Borri.

LII. Beside these controversies, which derived their importance chiefly from the influence and reputation of the disputants, and thus became productive of great tumults and divisions in the church, there were others excited by several innovators, whose new and singular opinions were followed by troubles, though of a less momentous and permanent nature. Such was the strange doctrine of Isaac la Peyrere, who, in two small treatises, published in 1655, maintained that it is the origin of the Jewish nation, and not of the human race, that we find recorded in the books of Moses, and that our globe was inhabited by many nations before Adam, whom he considered as merely the father of the Jews. Though Peyrere was a protestant when he published this opinion, yet the doctors of the Romish church thought themselves bound to punish an error that seemed to strike at the foundation of all revealed religion; and, therefore, in 1656, had him seised at Brussels, and thrown into prison, where, to escape the flames, he publicly renounced his erroneous system, and, to make a full expiation for it, embraced the popish religion [s].

Thomas White, known at different times, and in different countries, by the names of Albius, Anglus, Candidus, Bianchi [t], which he assumed successively, made a considerable figure, about the middle of this century, in England, Portugal, France, and the Ne-

[s] Bayle's Dictionary.—Arnold's Histor. Eccles. et Hæret. tom. iii.—Menagiana, published by M. de la Monnoye, tom. ii.

☞ [t] All these denominations bear reference to his true name, which was White. This man was a peculiar favorite of Sir Kenelm Digby, and mentions him with singular veneration in his philosophical writings. See more of this White in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. second edit. vol. ii. p. 665, and in the Biograph. Brit. article Glanville, vol. iv. p. 2206.

therlands, by the number and subtilty of his philosophical productions; but he also incurred the displeasure of many of the doctors of his communion, on account of the novelty and singularity of his opinions. He was undoubtedly a man of genius and penetration; but, being a passionate admirer of the Peripatetic philosophy, he ventured to employ it in the explication of some of the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church. This bold attempt led him imperceptibly out of the beaten road of popery, opened to him new views of things, and made him adopt notions that had never been heard of in the church of Rome; and hence his books were prohibited and condemned in several places, and particularly at Rome by the Congregation of the Index. This innovator is said to have died in England, his native country, and to have left a sect behind him that embraced his doctrine, but which, in process of time, fell into oblivion [u].

His peculiarities, however, were nothing, in comparison with the romantic notions of Joseph Francis Borri, a Milanese knight, eminent for his knowlege of chemistry and physic; but who, at the same time, appears to have been rather a madman than a heretic. The fancies broached by this man, concerning the Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, the erection of a new celestial kingdom, of which he himself was to be the founder, and the downfall of the Roman pontiff, are so extravagant, childish, and absurd, that no sober person can view them in any other light than as the crude reveries of a disordered brain. Besides, the conduct of this fanatic, in many instances, discovered the greatest vanity and levity, attended with that spirit of imposture which is usually visible in quacks and mountebanks; and, indeed, in the whole of his behaviour, he seemed destitute of sense, integrity, and prudence. The inquisitors had spread their snares for Borri; but he fortunately escaped them,

[u] See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article *Anglus*.—Baillet, Vie de M. Des Cartes, tom. ii.

and wandered up and down through a great part of Europe, giving himself out for another Æsculapius, and pretending to be initiated into the most profound mysteries of chemical science. But, in 1672, he imprudently fell into the power of the pontiff, who pronounced against him a sentence of perpetual imprisonment[w].

The last innovator we shall here mention is Celestine Sfondrati, who, having formed the design of terminating the disputes concerning predestination, by new explications of that doctrine, wrote a book upon that knotty subject, which threw into combustion, in 1696, a considerable part of the Romish church, since it was, in some things, agreeable to none of the contending parties, and neither satisfied entirely the Jesuits nor their adversaries[x]. Five French bishops, of great credit at the court of Rome, accused the author, notwithstanding the high rank of cardinal to which he had been raised on account of his extensive learning, of various errors, and more especially of having departed from the sentiments and doctrine of Augustine. This accusation was brought before

[w] There is a very interesting article in Bayle's Dictionary relating to Borri, in which all the extravagances of that wrong-headed man are curiously related. See also Arnold's History, p. iii. c. xviii. p. 193.

[x] This book, which was published at Rome in 1696, is entitled, Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus.—The letters of the French bishops, with the answer of the pontiff, are to be found in Du-Plessis D'Argentre's Collectio Judiciorum, tom. iii. and in Natalis Alexander's Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis, p. 877. The letters of the bishops are remarkable in this respect, that they contain sharp animadversions upon the Jesuits and their discipline. The prelates express, in the strongest terms, their abhorrence of the doctrine of philosophical sin, which rendered the Jesuits so deservedly infamous, and their detestation of the methods of propagating Christianity employed by the missionaries of that order in China; and, to express their aversion to the doctrine of Sfondrati, they say, that his opinions are still more erroneous and pernicious than even those of the Molinists. The doctrine of this cardinal has been accurately represented and compared with that of Augustin by the learned Basnage, in his Histoire de l'Eglise, livr. xii. c. iii. sect. xi.

Innocent XII. in 1696; but the contest which it seemed calculated to excite was nipped in the bud. The pontiff appeased, or rather put off, the French prelates, with a fair promise that he would appoint a congregation to examine the cardinal's doctrine, and then pronounce sentence accordingly; but he forgot his promise, imitated the prudent conduct of his predecessors on like occasions, and did not venture to decide this intricate controversy.

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Canonisations.

LIII. There was scarcely any change introduced into the Romish ritual during this century, if we except an edict of Urban VIII., issued in 1643[y], for diminishing the number of holidays: we shall therefore conclude this account with a list of the saints added to the calendar by the Roman pontiffs during the period now before us.

In the year 1601, Clement VIII. raised to that spiritual dignity Raymond of Pennafort, the famous compiler of the Decretals; in 1608, Frances Pontiani, a Benedictine nun; and, in 1610, the eminent and illustrious Charles Borromeo, bishop of Milan, so justly celebrated for his exemplary piety, and almost unparalleled liberality and beneficence.

Gregory XV. conferred, in 1622, the honor of saintship on Theresa, a native of Avila in Spain, and a nun of the Carmelite order.

Urban VIII., in 1623, conferred the same spiritual honors on Philip Neri, the founder of the order entitled Fathers of the Oratory, in Italy; on Ignatius Loyola, the parent of the Jesuits; and on his chief disciple Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indians.

Alexander VII. canonised, in 1658, Thomas de Villanueva, a Spanish monk, of the order of St. Augustin; and, in 1665, Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva.

Clement X. added to this honorable list, in 1670, Pedro de Alcantara, a Franciscan monk, and Maria

[y] This bull may be seen in the Nouvelle Bibliotheque, tom. xv. p. 88.

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Under the pontificate of Innocent XII. saintship was conferred upon Caietan of Vicenza, a regular clerk of the order of Theatins, for whom that honor had been designed twenty years before by Clement X. who died at the time when the canonisation was to have been performed. John of Leon also, a hermit of St. Augustin; Pascal Baylonio, a Franciscan monk of the kingdom of Arragon; and John de Dieu, a Portuguese, and one of the order of the Brethren of Hospitality, all of whom had been marked for a place in the calendar by Alexander VIII., were solemnly canonised, in 1691, by Innocent XII [z].

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Greek and Oriental Churches.

The state of the Greek church.

I. The history of the Greek and Eastern Christians, faithfully and accurately composed, would, no doubt, furnish us with a variety of entertaining and useful records; but the events that happen, and the transactions that are carried on in those distant regions, are very rarely transmitted to us genuine and uncorrupted. The spirit of religious party, and the

[z] The diplomas of the pontiffs, relative to all these canonisations, may be seen in Fontanini's Codex Constitutionum, quas summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemni Canonizatione sanctorum, p. 260, published at Rome, in 1729. As they contain the particular reasons which occasioned the elevation of these persons to a place in the calendar, and the peculiar kind of merit on which each promotion was founded, they offer abundant matter for reflection and censure to a judicious reader. Nor would it be labor ill employed to inquire, without prejudice or partiality, into the justice, piety, and truth of what the popes allege in these diplomas, as the reasons for conferring saintship on the persons therein mentioned.

pious frauds which it often engenders, want of proper information, and undistinguishing credulity, have introduced a fabulous mixture into the accounts we have of the state of the Christian religion in the East; and this consideration has engaged us to treat in a more concise manner than would otherwise have been expedient, this particular branch of ecclesiastical history.

The Greek church, whose wretched situation was mentioned in the history of the preceding century, continued, during the present one, in the same deplorable state of ignorance and decay, destitute of the means of acquiring or promoting solid and useful knowlege. This account is, however, to be considered as taken from a general view of that church; for several of its members may be alleged as exceptions from the prevailing character of ignorance, superstition, and corruption. Among the multitude of Greeks who travel into Sicily, Italy, England, Holland, and Germany, or carry on trade in their own country, or fill honorable and important posts in the courts of the Turkish emperors, there are undoubtedly some who are exempt from this reproach of ignorance and stupidity, of superstition and profligacy, and who make a figure by their opulence and credit [a]. But nothing can be

[a] I have been led to these remarks by the complaints of Alexander Helladius, and of others who see things in the light in which he has placed them. There is still extant a book published in Latin by this author, in 1714, entitled, The present State of the Greek Church, in which he throws out the bitterest reproaches upon several authors of eminent merit and learning, who have given accounts of that church, and maintains that his brethren of the Greek communion are much more pious, learned, wise, and opulent, than they are commonly supposed to be. Instead of envying the Greeks the merit and felicity which this panegyrist supposes them to possess, we sincerely wish them much greater degrees of both. But we observe at the same time, that from the very accounts given by Helladius it would be easy to prove, that the state of the Greeks is not a whit better than it is generally supposed to be; though it may be granted, that the same ignorance, superstition, and immorality, do not abound alike in all places, or among all persons. See what we have remarked on this subject in the accounts we have given of the Eastern church during the sixteenth century.

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more rooted and invincible than the aversion the Greeks in general discover to the Latin or Romish church; an aversion which neither promises nor threats, artifice nor violence, have been able to conquer, or even to temper or diminish, and which has continued inflexible and unrelenting amidst the most zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the various means employed by their numerous missionaries, to gain over this people to their communion and jurisdiction [b]. It is true, indeed, that the Latin Christians have founded churches in some of the islands of the Archipelago; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable; nor will either the Greeks or their masters, the Turks, permit the Romish missionaries to extend farther their spiritual jurisdiction.

The hopes of an union between the Greek and Latin churches entirely dispelled.

II. Under the pontificate of Urban VIII. great

[b] The Jesuit Tarillon has given an ample relation of the numerous missions in Greece and the other provinces of the Ottoman empire, and of the present state of these missions, in his letter to Pontchartrain, sur l'Etat present des Missions des Péres Jesuites dans la Grece, published in the Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. i. p. 1125. For an account of the state of the Romish religion in the islands of the Archipelago, see the letter of the Jesuit Xavier Portier, in the Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangeres, tom. x. p. 328. These accounts are, it is true, somewhat embellished, in order to advance the glory of the Jesuits; but the exaggerations of these missionaries may be easily corrected by the accounts of other writers, who, in our times, have treated this branch of ecclesiastical history. See, above all others, R. Simon's (under the fictitious name of Saint-Jore) Bibliotheque Critique, tom. i. c. xxiii. p. 340, and especially p. 346, where the author confirms a remarkable fact, which we have mentioned above upon the authority of Cerri, namely, that, amidst the general dislike which the Greeks have to the Romish church, no persons carry this dislike to such a high degree of antipathy and aversion, as those very Greeks who have been educated at Rome, or in the other schools and seminaries belonging to its spiritual jurisdiction. "Ils sont (says Father Simon) les premiers à crier contre et à medire du pape et des Latins. Ces pelerins Orientaux qui viennent chez nous, fourbent et abusent de notre credulité, pour acheter un benefice, et tourmenter les missionaires Latins, &c." We have still more recent and ample testimonies of the invincible hatred of the Greeks toward the Latins, in the preface to Cowell's Account of the present Greek Church.

hopes were entertained of softening the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latin church [c], and of engaging them and the other Christians of the East, to embrace the communion of Rome, and acknowlege the supremacy and jurisdiction of its pontiff. This was the chief object that excited the ambitious zeal and employed the assiduous labor and activity of Urban, who called to his assistance such ecclesiastics as were most eminent for their acquaintance with Greek and Oriental learning, and with the tempers, manners, and characters of the Christians in those distant regions, that they might suggest the shortest and most effectual method of bringing them and their churches under the Roman yoke. The wisest of these counsellors advised the pontiff to lay it down for a preliminary in this difficult negotiation, that the Greek and Eastern Christians were to be indulged in almost every point that had hitherto been refused them by the Romish missionaries, and that no alteration was to be introduced either into their ritual or doctrine; that their ceremonies were to be tolerated, since they did not concern the essence of religion; and that their doctrine was to be explained and understood in such a manner as might give it a near and striking resemblance to the doctrine and institutions of the church of Rome. In defence of this method of proceeding, it was judiciously observed, that the Greeks would be much more tractable and obsequious, were they told by the missionaries, that it was not meant to convert them; that they had always been Roman-catholics in reality, though not in profession; and that the popes had no intention of persuading them to abandon the doctrine of their ancestors, but only desired that they would understand it in its true and genuine sense. This plan gave rise to a variety of laborious productions, in which there was more learning than probity, and more dexterity than can-

[c] See the Life of Morinus, prefixed to his Antiquitates Eccles. Orient. p. 37.

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The story of Cyrillus Lucar.

The design of bringing, by artful compliances, the Greek and Eastern churches under the jurisdiction of Rome, was opposed by many, but by none with more resolution and zeal than by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of extensive learning and knowlege of the world, who had visited a great part of Europe, and was well acquainted with the doctrine and discipline, both of the protestant and papal churches. This prelate declared openly, and indeed

[d] The book of Leo Allatius, *de Concordiâ Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occidentalis*, is well known, and deservedly looked upon, by the most learned protestants, as the work of a disingenuous and insidious writer. The Græcia Orthodoxa of the same author, which was published at Rome in 1652, and contains a compilation from all the books of the Grecian doctors who were well affected to the Latin church, is still extant.—We have nothing of Lucas Holstenius (who was superior to Allatius in learning and sagacity) upon this subject, except two posthumous dissertations, *de Ministro et Formâ Sacramenti Confirmationis apud Græcos*, which were published at Rome in 1666.—The treatises of Morinus, de Pœnitentiâ et Ordinationibus, are known to all the learned, and seem expressly composed to make the world believe, that there is a striking conformity of sentiment between the Greek and Latin churches on these two important points, when, laying aside the difference that scholastic terms and peculiar modes of expression may appear to occasion, we attend to the meaning that is annexed to these terms by the members of the two communions. Galanus, in a long and laborious work, has endeavoured to prove, that the Armenians differ very little from the Latins in their religious opinions; and Abraham Ecchellensis has attempted to convince us in several treatises, (and more especially in his Animadversiones ad Hebed. Jesu Catalogum librorum Chaldaicorum), that all Christians throughout Africa and Asia have the same system of doctrine that is received among the Latins.

with more courage than prudence, that he had a strong propensity to the religious sentiments of the English and Dutch churches, and had conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and bringing them nearer to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel. This was sufficient to render the venerable patriarch odious to the friends of Rome; and accordingly the Jesuits, seconded by the credit and influence of the French ambassador, and assisted by the treacherous stratagems of some perfidious Greeks, continued to perplex and persecute the good man in various ways, and at length accomplished his ruin; for, by the help of false witnesses, they obtained an accusation of treason against him; in consequence of which he was put to death, in 1638, by the mandate of the Turkish emperor[e]. He was succeeded by Cyril, bishop of Berea, a man of a dark, malignant, and violent spirit, and the infamous instrument the Jesuits had chiefly employed in bringing him to an untimely end. As this new patriarch declared himself openly in favor of the Latins, the reconciliation of the Greeks with the church of Rome seemed more probable than ever, and

[e] The Confession of Faith, drawn up by Cyril Lucar, was published in Holland in 1645; and is also inserted by Aymon in his Monumens authentiques de la Religion des Grecs, p. 237. By this confession, it appears evidently, that this prelate had a stronger inclination toward the doctrine of the reformed churches, than to that which was commonly received among the Greeks. Nor was he, by any means, ill-affected toward the Lutherans, since he addressed several letters to the Swedish clergy about this time, and solicited their friendship, as appears from the learned Archenholtz' Memoires de la Reine Christine.—Aymon has published, in the work already mentioned, twenty-seven letters of this patriarch to the clergy of Geneva, and to the doctors of the reformed church, in which his religious sentiments are still more plainly discovered. His life, transactions, and deplorable fate, have been recorded by Thomas Smith, a learned divine of the English church, in his Narratio de Vitâ, Studiis, Gestis et Martyrio Cyrilli Lucaris, which is the third article of his Miscellanea; as also by Hottinger, and by other authors mentioned by Fabricius in his Bibliotheca Græca.

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almost certain[f]; but the dismal fate of this unworthy prelate suddenly dispelled the pleasing hopes and the anxious fears with which Rome and its adversaries beheld the approach of this important event. The same violent death that had concluded the days of Cyril Lucar pursued his successor, in whose place Parthenius, a zealous opposer of the doctrine and ambitious pretensions of Rome, was raised to the patriarchal dignity. After this period the Roman pontiffs desisted from their attempts upon the Greek church, no opportunity being offered either of deposing its patriarchs, or gaining them over to the Romish communion.

Whether the Romish doctors and missionaries contributed to the corruption of the doctrine of the Greek church.

III. Notwithstanding these unsuccessful attempts of the pontiffs to reduce the Greek church under their dominion, many allege, and more especially the reformed clergy complain, that the doctrine of that church has been manifestly corrupted by the emissaries of Rome. It is supposed, that, in later times, the munificence of the French ambassadors at the Porte, and the persuasive sophistry of the Jesuits, have made such irresistible impressions on the avarice and ignorance of the Greek bishops, whose poverty is great, that they have departed, in several points, from the religious system of their ancestors, and have adopted, among other errors of the Romish church, the monstrous and unnatural doctrine of transubstantiation. This change is said to have been more especially brought about in the famous council, which was assembled, in 1672, at Jerusalem, by Dositheus,

[f] See Eliæ Vegelii Defensio Exerc. de Ecclesiâ Græcâ, p. 300, where we find the letters of pope Urban VIII. to Cyril of Berea, in which he loads with applause this new patriarch, for having been so instrumental in banishing from among the Greeks the pernicious errors of Cyril Lucar, and warmly exhorts him to depose all the Greek patriarchs and bishops who are not favorable to the Latin church. These exhortations are seconded by flattering promises, and, particularly, by an assurance of protection and succour from the king of Spain. Cyril of Berea died in the communion of the Romish church. See Hen. Hilarii Not. ad Phil. Cyprii Chron. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, p. 470.

the patriarch of that city [g]. Without entering into an examination of the truth and equity of this charge brought against the Greek bishops, we shall only observe that it was the controversy between the catholics and protestants in France that first gave rise to it. The latter, and more especially John Claude, so justly celebrated for his extensive learning and masterly eloquence, maintained, that many of the doctrines of the Romish church, and more particularly that of transubstantiation, were of a modern date, and had never been heard of before the ninth century. The catholics, on the contrary, with Arnaud at their head, affirmed, that the doctrine of Rome, concerning the eucharist, and the real conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance, had been received by Christians in all ages of the church [h]. To strengthen their cause by authorities, which they imagined would have no small influence upon their adversaries, they ventured to assert that this doctrine was adopted by all the Eastern Christians, and particularly by the Greek churches [i]. This bold assertion required striking and authentic testimonies to give it any degree of credit. Accordingly the ambassador of France, residing at Constantinople, received orders from his court to concur with the Jesuits, and to leave no methods unemployed in procuring certificates from the Greek clergy

[g] See, for an account of this council, Aymon's Memoires Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs, tom. i. p. 263; and Gisberti Cuperi Epistolæ, p. 404, 407.—See, more especially, the judicious and learned observations of Basnage on the transactions of this council, in his Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformées, period iv. p. i. c. xxxii. p. 452, and Cowell's Account of the Present State of the Greek Church, book i. ch. v.

☞ [h] It was to prove this most groundless assertion, that the famous Nicole published his artful book, de la Perpetuité de la Foi, in 1664, which was answered, with a victorious force of evidence, by the learned Claude.

[i] The names and productions of the principal writers that appeared in this controversy may be found in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, vol. x. p. 444, and in the learned Pfaff's Dissertatio contra Ludov. Rogerii Opus Eucharisticum.

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[k] Here, above all other histories, the reader will do well to consult Cowell's Account of the present State of the Greek Church, as this author was actually at Constantinople when the scene of fraud and bribery was carried on, and was an eyewitness of the insidious arts and perfidious practices employed by the Jesuits to obtain, from the Greek priests and monks, testimonies in favor of the doctrine of the Latin or Romish church.

the Romish missionaries, the popish manner of expressing this very absurd and unaccountable tenet [l].

The Russian church.

IV. Of those independent Greek churches, which are governed by their own laws, and are not subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, there is not one that can furnish any matter for an ecclesiastical historian, except the church established in Russia; the rest are sunk in the most deplorable ignorance and barbarity that can be imagined. About the year 1666, a certain sect, which assumed the name of *Isbraniki*, i. e. the multitude of the Elect, but were called by their adversaries *Roscolskika*, or the seditious Faction, arose in Russia, and excited considerable tumults and commotions in that kingdom [m]. The reasons alleged by this sect in defence of its separation from the Russian church, are not yet known with certainty; nor have we any satisfactory or accurate account of its doctrines and institutions [n];

[l] The learned La Croze, who cannot be suspected of any propensity to favor the cause of Rome in general, or that of the Jesuits in particular, was of opinion that the Greeks had been long in possession of the foolish doctrine of transubstantiation. See Gisberti Cuperi Epistol.

[m] These, perhaps, are the same persons of whom the learned Gmelin speaks, under the denomination of Sterowerzi, in the account of his Voyage into Siberia, tom. iv. p. 404.

☞ [n] This sect is called, by other authors, the sect of the Roskolniki. According to the account of Voltaire, who pretends to have drawn the materials of his History of the Russian Empire under Peter I. from authentic records furnished by the court of Petersburg, this sect made its first appearance in the twelfth century. The members of it alleged, in defence of their separation, the corruptions, both in doctrine and discipline, which had been introduced into the Russian church. They profess a rigorous zeal for the *letter* of Scripture, which they do not understand; and the transposition of a single word in a new edition of the Russian Bible, though it tended only to correct an uncouth phrase in the translation commonly received, threw them into the greatest combustion and tumult. They will not allow a priest to administer baptism after having tasted spirituous liquor; and in this, perhaps, they do not amiss, since it is well known, that the Russian priests seldom touch the flask without drinking deeply. They hold that there is no subordination of rank, no superior or inferior, among the faithful; that a Christian may kill himself for the love of Christ; that it is a great

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sin to say *Hallelujah* thrice, and that a priest must never give a blessing but with three fingers. They are regular, even to austerity, in their manners; but, as they have always refused to admit Christians of other denominations into their religious assemblies, they have been suspected of committing, at those meetings, various abominations, which ought not to be believed without the strongest demonstrative proof. They are accused, for example, of killing a child in these assemblies, and of drinking its blood, and of lascivious commerce in its most irregular forms.

[o] See Bergius, de Statu Ecclesiæ et Religionis Moscoviticæ, sect. xi. cap. vii. sect. ii. cap. xvi.—Append. 270.—Heineccius' Account of the Greek Church, written in German; and

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The change introduced into the Russian church by Peter I.

V. It will not be improper here to give some account of this reformation of the church of Russia, which resulted from the active zeal and wisdom of Peter; for, though this interesting event belongs to the history of the following century, yet the scheme, by which it was brought about, was formed toward the conclusion of the seventeenth. This great prince made no change in the articles of faith received among the Russians, and which contain the doctrine of the Greek church. But he took the utmost pains to have this doctrine explained in a manner conformable to the dictates of right reason and the spirit of the Gospel; and he used the most effectual methods to destroy, on one hand, the influence of the hideous superstition that sat brooding over the whole nation, and, on the other, to dispel the ignorance of the clergy, which was incredible, and that of the people, which would have exceeded it, had that been possible. These were great and arduous undertakings; and the reformation to which they pointed, was such as seemed to require whole ages to accomplish and bring to any tolerable degree of perfection. To accelerate the execution of this glorious plan, Peter became a zealous protector and patron of arts and sciences. He encouraged, by various instances of munificence, men of learning and genius to settle in his dominions. He reformed the schools that were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and erected new seminaries of learning. He endeavoured to excite in his subjects a desire of emerging from their ignorance and brutality, and a taste for knowlege and the useful arts. And, to crown all these noble attempts, he extinguished the infernal spirit of persecution; abolished the penal laws against those who differed merely in religious opinion from the established church; and granted to Christians of all denominations liberty of conscience,

Haven's Iter Russicum.—Some writers conjecture, that the Roskolniki are a branch descended from the ancient Bogomilians, of whom we have already given some account, cent. xii. p. ii. chap. v. sect. ii.

CENT. XVII. and the privilege of performing divine worship in the manner prescribed by their respective liturgies and institutions. This liberty, however, was modified in such a prudent manner, as to restrain and defeat any attempts that might be made by the Latins to promote the interests of popery in Russia, or to extend the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff beyond the tolerated chapels of that communion; for, though Roman-catholics were allowed to have places for the celebration of divine worship, the Jesuits were not permitted to exercise the functions of missionaries or public teachers in Russia; and a particular charge was given to the council, to which belonged the cognisance of ecclesiastical affairs, to use the utmost care and vigilance to prevent the propagation of Romish tenets among the people.

Beside all this, a remarkable change was now introduced into the manner of governing the church. The splendid dignity of patriarch, which approached too near the lustre and prerogatives of majesty, not to be offensive to the emperor, and burthensome to the people, was suppressed, or rather assumed by this spirited prince, who declared himself the supreme pontiff and head of the Russian church [p]. The functions of this high and important office were committed to a council assembled at Petersburg, which

☞ [p] This account is not perhaps entirely accurate. Dr. Mosheim seems to insinuate that Peter assumed not only the authority, but also the office and title of patriarch or supreme pontiff and head of the church. This, however, was not the case; he retained the power without the title, as may be seen by the oath that every member of the synod he had established was obliged to take, when he was appointed to that office. It was in consequence of his authority, as emperor, that he claimed an absolute authority in the church, and not from any spiritual character or denomination. The oath now mentioned ran thus: "I swear and promise to be a faithful and obedient subject and servant to my true and natural sovereign, and to the august successors whom it shall please him to appoint, in consequence of the indisputable power he has to regulate the succession to the crown.—I acknowlege him as the supreme judge of this spiritual college," &c. See Voltaire's Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 174.

was called the Holy Synod, and in which one of the archbishops, the most distinguished by his integrity and prudence, acted as president. This honorable office was filled by the famous Stephen Javorski, who composed a laborious work, in the Russian language, against heresy [q]. The other orders of the clergy continued in their respective ranks and offices; but both their revenues and their authority were considerably diminished. It was resolved at first, in this general reformation, to abolish all monasteries and convents, as prejudicial to the community, and unfriendly to population; but this resolution was not executed; on the contrary, the emperor himself erected a magnificent monastery in honor of Alexander Newsky, whom the Russians place in the list of their heroes [r].

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The state of the Monophysites.

VI. A small body of the Monophysites in Asia abandoned, for some time, the doctrine and institutions of their ancestors, and embraced the communion of Rome. This step was entirely occasioned by the suggestions and intrigues of a person named Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at Rome, where he imbibed the principles of popery, and, having obtained the title and dignity of patriarch from the Roman pontiff, assumed the denomination of Ignatius XXIV [s]. After the death of this pretended patriarch, another usurper, whose name was Peter, aspired to the same dignity, and, taking the title of Ignatius XXV., placed himself in the patriarchal chair; but the lawful patriarch of the sect had credit enough with the Turks to procure the deposition and banish-

[q] Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 1295.

[r] Those who are acquainted with either the Danish or German language, will find several interesting anecdotes relating to these changes in Haven's Iter Russicum.

[s] From the fifteenth century downwards, all the patriarchs of the Monophysites have taken the name of Ignatius, for no other reason than to shew that they are the lineal successors of Ignatius, (who was bishop of Antioch in the first century,) and of consequence the lawful patriarchs of Antioch. A like reason induces the religious chief of the Maronites, who also claims the same dignity, to assume the name of Peter; for St. Peter is said to have governed the church of Antioch before Ignatius.

CENT. XVII. ment of this pretender; and thus the small congregation which acknowleged his jurisdiction was entirely dispersed [t]. The African Monophysites, and more especially the Copts, notwithstanding that poverty and ignorance which exposed them to the seductions of sophistry and gain, stood firm in their principles, and made an obstinate resistance to the promises, presents, and attempts, employed by the papal missionaries to bring them under the Roman yoke.—With respect to the Abyssinians, we have mentioned already, in its proper place, a revolution by which they delivered themselves from that tyrannical yoke, and resumed the liberty they had so imprudently renounced. It is proper, however, to take notice here of the zeal discovered by the Lutherans, in their attempts to dispel the ignorance and superstition of this people, and to bring them to the knowlege of a purer religion and a more rational worship. It was with this pious design that the learned Heyling, of Lubeck, undertook a voyage into Ethiopia in 1634, where he resided many years, and acquired such a distinguished place in the favor and esteem of the emperor, that he was honored with the important office of prime minister of that mighty empire. In this eminent station he gave many instances of his zeal both for the interests of religion and the public good; after which he set out for Europe, but never arrived there; nor is it known in what manner, or by what accident, he ended his days [u].

Several years after this, Ernest, duke of Saxe-Gotha, surnamed the Pious, on account of his sanctity and virtue, formed the resolution of making a new attempt to diffuse the knowlege of the Gospel, in its purity and simplicity, among the ignorant and superstitious Abyssinians. This design was formed

[t] Jo. Simon. Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 482, and his Dissert. de Monophysitis, sect. iii.

[u] A very curious life of Heyling was published in German by Dr. Michaelis at Halle, in 1724.—See also Moller's Cimbria Literata, tom. i. p. 253.

by the counsels and suggestions of the famous Ludolph, and was to have been executed by the ministry of the abbot Gregory, an Abyssinian, who had resided for some time in Europe[w]. The unhappy fate of this missionary, who perished in a shipwreck in 1657, did not totally discourage the prince from pursuing his purpose; for, in 1663, he entrusted the same pious and important commission to John Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfort, to whom he gave the wisest orders, and whom he charged particularly to leave no means unemployed that might contribute to give the Abyssinian nation a favorable opinion of the Germans, as it was upon this basis alone that the success of the present enterprise could be built. Wansleb, however, whose virtue was by no means equal to his abilities, instead of continuing his journey to Abyssinia, remained several years in Egypt. On his return thence into Europe, he began to entertain uneasy apprehensions of the account that would naturally be demanded both of his conduct, and of the manner in which he had employed the sums of money he received for his Abyssinian expedition. These apprehensions rendered him desperate, because they were attended with a consciousness of guilt. Hence, instead of returning into Germany, he went to Rome, where, in 1667, he embraced, at least in outward profession, the doctrine of that church, and entered into the Dominican order[x]. Thus the pious design of the best of princes failed in the execution. To his formation of that scheme, however, we are indebted for the great light that has been thrown by the learned and laborious Ludolph on the history, doctrine, literature, and manners of the Abyssinians,

[w] See Ludolphi Proëmium ad Comm. in Hist. Æthiop. p. 31. —Junckeri Vita Jobi Ludolphi, p. 63.

[x] For an account of this inconstant and worthless, but learned man, see Lobo's Voyage d'Abyss. tom. i. p. 198, 227, 233, 248. —Cyprian's Catalog. MSS. Biblioth. Gothanæ, p. 64. Eus. Renaudot's Præf. ad Histor. Patriarch. Alexand. and his Historia Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ: see also Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicatorum, edited by Echard and Quetif, tom. ii. p. 693.

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The state of the Armenians.

VII. The state of the Christians in Armenia underwent a considerable change soon after the commencement of this century, in consequence of the incursions of Abbas the Great, king of Persia, into that province. This prince ravaged that part of Armenia which lay contiguous to his dominions, and ordered the inhabitants to retire into Persia. These devastations were intended to prevent the Turks from approaching his frontier; for the Eastern monarchs, instead of erecting fortified towns on the borders of their respective kingdoms, as is done by the European princes, laid waste their borders upon the approach of the invaders, that, by thus cutting off the means of their subsistence, their progress might be either entirely stopped, or considerably retarded. In this general emigration, the more opulent and the better sort of the Armenians removed to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where the generous monarch granted them a beautiful suburb for their residence, with the free exercise of their religion under the jurisdiction of a bishop or patriarch. Under the sway of this magnanimous prince, who cherished his people with a paternal tenderness, these happy exiles enjoyed the sweets of liberty and abundance; but after his death the scene changed, and they were involved in calamities of various kinds[y]. The storm of persecution that arose upon them shook their constancy; many of them apostatised to the Mohammedan religion, so that it was justly to be feared that this branch of the Armenian church would gradually be lost. On the other hand, the state of religion in that church derived considerable advantages from the settlement of a great number of Armenians in different parts of Europe for the purpopes of commerce. These merchants, who had fixed their residence, during this century, at London, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and

[y] See Chardin's Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 106; and the Nouvelles Relations au Levant, by Gabriel de Chinon, p. 206.

Venice[z], were not unmindful of the interests of religion in their native country; and their situation furnished them with opportunities of exerting their zeal in this good cause, and particularly of supplying their Asiatic brethren with Armenian translations of the Scriptures, and of other theological books, from the European presses, especially from those of England and Holland. These pious and instructive productions, being dispersed among the Armenians, who lived under the Persian and Turkish governments, contributed, no doubt, to preserve that illiterate and superstitious people from falling into the most consummate and deplorable ignorance.

The state of the Nestorians.

VIII. The divisions that reigned among the Nestorians in the preceding century still subsisted, as all the methods employed to heal them had hitherto proved ineffectual. Some of the Nestorian bishops discovered a propensity to accommodate matters with the church of Rome. Elias II., bishop of Mosul, sent two private ambassies to the pope, in 1607 and 1610, to solicit his friendship; and, in the letter he addressed upon that occasion to Paul V., he declared his desire of effecting a reconciliation between the Nestorians and the Latin church[a]. Elias III., though at first extremely averse to the doctrine and institution of that church, changed his sentiments in this respect; and, in 1657, addressed a letter to the congregation *de propagandâ Fide,* in which he intimated his readiness to join with the church of Rome, on condition that the pope would allow the Nestorians a place of public worship in that city,

[z] For an account of the Armenians who settled at Marseilles, and of the books which they ordered to be printed in that city for the use of their brethren in foreign parts, see Richard Simon's Lettres Choisies, tom. ii. p. 137.—The same author (tom. iv. p. 160,) and the learned John Joachim Schroder, in a dissertation prefixed to his Thesaurus Linguæ Armenicæ, give an account of the Armenian Bible that was printed in Holland. The latter also takes notice of the other Armenian books that were published at Venice, Lyons, and Amsterdam.

[a] Jos. Sim. Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican. tom. i. ii. iii.

and would abstain from all attempts to alter the discipline of the sect [b]. The Romish doctors could not but perceive that a reconciliation, founded on such conditions as these, would be attended with no advantage to their church, and promised nothing that could flatter the ambition of their pontiff; and accordingly we do not find that the proposal above-mentioned was accepted. It does not appear that the Nestorians were received, at this time, into the communion of the Romish church, or that the bishops of Mosul were, after this period, at all solicitous about the friendship or good-will of the pope. The Nestorian bishops of Ormus, who successively assume the name of Simeon, proposed also, more than once [c], plans of reconciliation with the church of Rome; and, with that view, sent to the pontiff a confession of their faith, which gave a clear idea of their religious tenets and institutions. But these proposals were little attended to by the court of Rome, either in consequence of its disapprobation of the doctrine of these Nestorians [d], or of that contempt which their poverty and want of influence excited in the pontiffs, whose ambition and avidity aimed at acquisitions of greater consequence; for it is well known, that, since the year 1617, the bishops of Ormus have been in a low and declining state, both in point of opulence and credit, and are no longer in a condition to excite the envy of their brethren at Mosul [e]. The Romish missionaries gained over, nevertheless, to their communion, a small number of Nestorians, whom they formed into a congregation or church, about the middle of this century. The bishops or patriarchs of this little flock reside in the city of Amida, or Diarbek, and all assume the denomination of Joseph [f]. The Nestorians, resident on the coast of Malabar,

[b] Idem Opus, tom. iii.
[c] In the years 1619 and 1658.
[d] Assemani Biblioth. tom. i. ii. iii.
[e] Pet. Strozza, Præf. ad Librum de Chaldæorum Dogmatibus.
[f] See Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. ii. p. 1078.

called also the Christians of St. Thomas, suffered innumerable vexations, and the most grievous persecution, from the Romish priests; and more especially from the Jesuits, while those settlements were in the hands of the Portuguese; but neither artifice nor violence could engage them to embrace the communion of Rome[g]. When Cochin was taken by the Dutch, in 1663, and the Portuguese were driven out of these quarters, the persecuted Nestorians resumed their primitive liberty, and were reinstated in the privilege of serving God without molestation, according to their consciences. These blessings they still continue to enjoy; nor are such of them as entered into the communion of Rome disturbed by the Dutch, who are accustomed to treat with toleration and indulgence all sects that live peaceably with those who differ from them in religious opinions and ceremonies[h].

[g] La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, liv. v. p. 344.
[h] Schouten, Voyage aux Indes Orient. tom. i. p. 319, 446.

SECTION II.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

The History of the Lutheran Church.

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The Lutheran church loses ground in some places. The Hessians embrace Calvinism.

I. We have already seen [a] the calamities and vexations that were entailed on the Lutheran church, by the persecuting spirit of the Roman pontiffs, and the intemperate zeal of the house of Austria, which, on many occasions, shewed too great a propensity to second their ambitious and despotic measures; we shall, therefore, at present confine our view to the losses it sustained from other quarters. The cause of Lutheranism suffered considerably by the desertion of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse, a prince of uncommon genius and learning, who not only embraced the doctrine and discipline of the *reformed* church [b], but also, in 1604, removed the Lutheran professors from their places in the university of Marpurg, and the doctors of that communion from the churches they had in his dominions. After taking this vigorous step, on account of the obstinacy with which the Lutheran clergy opposed his design, he took particular care to have his subjects instructed in the doctrine of the Helvetic church, and introduced into the Hessian churches the form of public worship that was observed at Geneva. This plan was not executed without some difficulty; but it acquired a complete

[a] In the History of the Romish Church.—See above.

☞ [b] The reader must always remember, that the writers of the continent generally use the denomination of *reformed* in a limited sense, to distinguish the church of England and the Calvinistical churches from those of the Lutheran persuasion.

degree of stability and consistence in 1619, when deputies were sent by this prince to the synod of Dordrecht, with express orders to consent, in the name of the Hessian churches, to all the acts that should be passed in that assembly. The doctors of the reformed church, who lived at this period, strenuously defended the measures followed by Maurice, and maintained, that in all these transactions he observed the strictest principles of equity, and discovered an uncommon spirit of moderation. Perhaps the doctors of modern days may view this matter in a different light. They will acknowlege, perhaps without hesitation, that if this illustrious prince had been more influenced by the sentiments of the wisest of the reformed doctors, concerning the conduct we ought to observe toward those who differ from us in religious matters, and less by his own will and humor, he would have ordered many things otherwise than he actually did[c].

The new reformation takes place in Brandenburg.

II. The example of the landgrave of Hesse was followed, in 1614, by John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who also renounced Lutheranism, and embraced the communion of the reformed churches, though with certain restrictions, and without employing any acts of mere authority to engage his subjects in the same measure; for it is observable, that this prince did not adopt all the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism. He introduced, indeed, into his dominions the Genevan form of public worship, and embraced the sentiments of the reformed churches concerning the person of Christ, and the manner in which he is present in the eucharist, as they appeared to him much more conformable to reason and Scripture than

[c] The reader will find a more ample account of this matter in the controversial writings of the divines of Cassel and Darmstadt, of which Salig speaks largely in his Hist. Aug. Confess. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 756. Those who understand the German language, may also consult Garth's Historischer Bericht von dem Religions-Wesen in Furstenthum Hessen — Cyprian's Unterricht von Kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten, and the Acts published in the Unschuldigen Nachrichten, An. 1749.

the doctrine of the Lutherans relating to these points. But, on the other hand, he refused to admit the Calvinistical doctrines of divine grace and absolute decrees; and, on this account, he neither sent deputies to the synod of Dordrecht, nor adopted the decisions of that famous assembly on these intricate subjects. This way of thinking was so exactly followed by the successors of Sigismund, that they never would allow the opinion of Calvin, concerning the divine decrees, to be considered as the public and received doctrine of the reformed churches in their dominions. It must be particularly mentioned, to the honor of this wise prince, that he granted to his subjects an entire liberty in religious matters, and left it to their unrestained and free choice, whether they would remain in the profession of Lutheranism, or follow the example of their sovereign; nor did he exclude from civil honors and employments, or from the usual marks of his protection and favor, those who continued in the faith of their ancestors. This lenity and moderation, which seemed so adapted to prevent jealousy and envy, and to satisfy both parties, did not however produce this natural and salutary effect; nor were they sufficient to restrain within the bounds of decency and charity several warm and inconsiderate votaries of Lutheranism. These over-zealous persons, who breathed the violent spirit of an age in which matters of consequence were usually carried on with vehemence and rigor, deemed it intolerable and highly provoking, that the Lutherans and Calvinists should enjoy the same honors and prerogatives; that all injurious terms and odious comparisons should be banished from religious debates;—that the controverted points in theology should either be entirely omitted in the public discourses of the clergy, or explained with a spirit of modesty and Christian charity; that certain rites which displeased the Calvinists should be totally abolished; and that they who differed in opinion should be obliged to live in peace, concord, and the mutual exchange of good offices. If

it was unreasonable in them to be offended at injunctions of this nature, it was still more so to discover their indignation in a manner, that excited not only sharp and uncharitable debates, but also civil commotions and violent tumults, that disturbed considerably the tranquillity of the state, and nourished a spirit of sedition and revolt, which the labor of years was in vain employed to extinguish. In this troubled state of things, the divines of Saxony, and more especially those of Wittenberg, undertook to defend the Lutheran cause; but if it be acknowleged, on one hand, that their views were good, and their intentions upright, it must be owned, on the other, that their style was keen even to a degree of licentiousness, and their zeal warm beyond all measure. And, indeed, as it generally happens, their want of moderation injured, instead of promoting, the cause in which they had embarked; for it was in consequence of their violent proceedings, that the Form of Concord was suppressed in the territories of Brandenburg, and the subjects of that electorate were prohibited, by a solemn edict, from studying divinity in the university of Wittenberg[d].

[d] The edicts of Sigismund and his successors, relating to this change in the state of religion in Brandenburg, have been several times republished in one collection. Beside these, there are many books, treatises, and pamphlets, which give an account of this remarkable transaction, and of which the reader will find a complete list in the German work, entitled, Unschuldigen Nachrichten, An. 1745, p. 34; An. 1746, p. 326, compared with Jo. Carol. Kocheri Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ, p. 312.—The reader who desires to attain a perfect acquaintance with this controversy, and to be able to weigh the merits of the cause, by having a true state of the case before him, will do well to consult Arnold's Histor. Eccles. et Hæret. p. ii. lib. xvii. c. vii. p. 965.—Cyprian's Unterricht von der Vereinigung der Protestant. p. 75, and Append. Monum. p. 225.—Unschuldigen Nachrichten, An. 1727, p. 1069, et An. 1732, p. 715. They who affirm that the elector's ultimate end, in changing the face of religion in his dominions, was not the prospect of augmenting and extending his authority, found their opinion rather on conjecture than on demonstration; nor do they confirm this assertion by testimonies that are sufficient to produce full conviction. It must, however, be acknowleged, on the other hand, that their conjectures have neither an absurd nor an improbable aspect.

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Attempts made towards an union between the Lutheran and reformed churches.

III. It was deplorable to see two churches, which had discovered an equal degree of pious zeal and fortitude in throwing off the despotic yoke of Rome, divided among themselves, and living in discords that were highly detrimental to the interests of religion and the welfare of society. Hence several eminent divines and leading men, both among the Lutherans and Calvinists, anxiously sought some method of uniting the two churches, though divided in their opinions, in the bonds of Christian charity and ecclesiastical communion. A competent knowlege of human nature and human passions served to persuade these wise and pacific mediators, that a perfect uniformity of religious opinion was not practicable, and that it would be entirely extravagant to imagine that either of these communities could ever be brought to embrace universally, and without limitation, the doctrines of the other. They made it, therefore, their principal business to persuade those, whose spirits were inflamed with the heat of controversy, that the points in debate between the churches were not essential to true religion;—that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were received and professed in both communions;—and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties, turned either upon points of an abstruse and incomprehensible nature, or upon matters of indifference, which did not tend to render mankind wiser or better, and in which the interests of genuine piety were in no respect concerned. Those who viewed things in this point of light, were obliged to acknowlege, that the diversity of opinion was by no means a sufficient reason for the separation of the churches, and that in consequence they were called, by the dictates of that Gospel which they both professed, to live not only in the mutual exercise of Christian charity, but also to enter into the fraternal bonds of church communion. The greatest part of the reformed doctors seemed disposed to acknowlege, that the errors of the Lutherans were not of a momentous nature, or of a pernicious tendency, and

that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity had not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion; and thus on their side an important step was made toward peace and union between the churches. But the majority of the Lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form a like judgement with respect to the doctrine of the reformed churches; they maintained tenaciously the importance of the points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that a considerable part of the controversy turned upon the fundamental principles of all religion and virtue. It is not at all surprising, that the opposite party branded this steadiness and constancy with the epithets of morose obstinacy, supercilious arrogance, and the like odious denominations. The Lutherans were not behindhand with their adversaries in acrimony of style; they recriminated with vehemence, and charged their accusers with instances of misconduct, different in kind, but equally condemnable. They reproached them with having dealt disingenuously, by disguising, under ambiguous expressions, the real doctrine of the reformed churches; they observed farther, that their adversaries, notwithstanding their consummate prudence and circumspection, gave plain proofs, on many occasions, that their propensity to a reconciliation between the churches arose from views of private interest, rather than from a zeal for the public good.

Declaration of the synod of Charenton.

IV. Among the public transactions relative to the project of an union between the reformed and Lutheran churches, we must not omit mentioning the attempt made in 1615 by James I., king of Great Britain, to accomplish this salutary purpose. The person employed for this end by the British monarch, was Peter du Moulin, the most eminent among the Protestant doctors in France[e]; but this design was neither carried on with spirit, nor attended with success[f]. Another attempt of the same pacific nature

[e] See Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. ii. part ii.

☞ [f] King James, who would have abandoned the most important and noble design, at any time, to discuss a point of

was made in 1631, in the synod of Charenton, in which an act was passed by the reformed doctors of that respectable assembly, declaring the Lutheran system of religion conformable with the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors. By this act, an opportunity was offered to the Lutherans of joining with the reformed church upon honorable terms, and of entering into the bonds both of civil and religious communion with their Calvinistical brethren [g]. But this candid and charitable proceeding was attended with very little fruit, since few of the Lutherans were disposed to embrace the occasion that was here so freely offered to them, of terminating the dissensions that separated the two churches. In the same year, a conference took place at Leipsic between the Saxon doctors, Koe, Lyser, and Hopfner, on one side, and some of the most eminent divines of Hesse-Casseland Brandenburg, on the other; to the end that, by exposing with fidelity and precision their respective doctrines, it might be more easily seen, what were the real obstacles to the union projected between the churches. This conference was conducted with decency and moderation, and the deliberations were neither disturbed by intemperate zeal nor by a proud spirit of contention and dispute; but that openness of heart, that mutual trust and confidence, which are so essential to the success of all kinds of pacification, were not manifested on this occasion; for, though the doctors of the reformed party exposed, with great precision and fairness, the tenets of their church, and even made several concessions, which the Lutherans themselves could scarcely expect; yet the latter, suspicious and fear-

grammar or theology, or to gain a point of interest for himself or his minions, neglected this union of the Lutheran and reformed churches, which he had begun to promote with such an appearance of piety and zeal.

[g] Benoit, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tom. ii. p. 544.—Aymon, Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, tom. ii. p. 500.—Ittigii Dissert. de Synodi Carentoniensis Indulgentiâ erga Lutheranos, Lips. 1705. 4to.

ful, and always apprehensive of schemes, formed by artifice under the mask of candor, to betray and ensnare them, did not dare to acknowlege, that they were satisfied with these explications and offers; and thus the conference broke up without having contributed in any respect to promote the salutary work of peace[h]. To form a true idea of these pacific deliberations, of the reasons that gave rise to them, and of the principles by which they were conducted, it will be necessary to study the civil history of this interesting period with attention and care.

The conferences at Thorn and Cassel.

V. Uladislaus IV., king of Poland, formed a still more extensive plan of religious union than those which have been mentioned; he proposed a reconciliation, not only between the Reformed and Lutheran churches, but also between these communions and that of Rome. For this purpose, he ordered a conference to be holden at Thorn, in 1645, the issue of which, as might naturally have been expected, was far from being favorable to the projected union; for the persons employed by the three churches to heal their divisions, or at least to calm their animosities, returned from this conference with a greater measure of party zeal, and a smaller portion of Christian charity, than they had brought to it.

The conference which took place at Cassel in 1661, by the order of William VI., landgrave of Hesse, between Musæus and Henichius, professors at Rintelen, on the side of the Lutherans, and Curtius and Heine, of the university of Marpurg, on that of the reformed, was attended with better success; and, if it did not bring about a perfect uniformity of opinion, it produced what was more desirable, a spirit of Christian charity and forbearance. For these candid doctors, after having diligently examined the nature, and

[h] Timanni Gesselii Historia Sacra et Ecclesiastica, p. ii. in addendis, p. 597—613, in which the acts of this conference are published.—Jo. Wolfg. Jaegeri Historia Sæculi xvii. decenn. iv. p. 497. ☞ This testimony of Dr. Mosheim, who was himself a Lutheran, is singularly honorable to the reformed doctors,

CENT. XVII. weighed the importance, of the controversies that divided the two churches, embraced each other with reciprocal marks of affection and esteem, and mutually declared that their respective doctrines were less different than was generally imagined, and that this difference was not of sufficient moment to prevent their fraternal union and concord. But it unfortunately happened, that these moderate theologians could not infuse the same spirit of peace and charity that animated *them,* into their Lutheran brethren, nor persuade them to view the diversities of opinion that divided the Protestant churches, in the same indulgent point of view in which they had considered them in the conference at Cassel. On the contrary, this their moderation drew upon them the hatred of almost all the Lutherans; and they were loaded with bitter reproaches in a multitude of pamphlets[i], that were composed expressly to refute their sentiments, and to censure their conduct. The pains that were taken after this period by the princes of the house of Brandenburg, and more especially by Frederic William and his son Frederic, in order to compose the dissensions and animosity that divided the Protestants, and particularly to promote a fraternal union between the reformed and Lutheran churches in the Prussian territories, and in the rest of their dominions, are well known; and it is also equally notorious, that innumerable difficulties opposed the execution of this salutary design.

The pacific exploits of John Dureus.

VI. Beside these public conferences, holden by the authority of princes, in order to promote union and

[i] The writers who have given accounts of the conferences of Thorn and Cassel, are enumerated by Sagittarius, in his Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 1604.—See also Jaegeri Historia Sæculi xvii. decenn. v. p. 689, and decenn. vii. p. 160, where the acts of the two conferences are extant.—Add to these Jo. Alphons. Turretini Nubes Testium pro moderato in Rebus theologicis Judicio, p. 178.—There is an ample account of the conference of Cassel in the life of Musæus, given by Moller, in his Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 566. The reader will find, in the same work, an accurate index of the accounts of this conference, published on both sides.

concord among Protestants, a multitude of individuals, animated by a spirit of true Christian charity, embarked in this pious cause on their own private authority, and offered their mediation and good offices to reconcile the two churches. It is true, indeed, that these peace-makers were, generally speaking, of the reformed church, and that those among the Lutherans, who appeared in this amiable character, were but few, in comparison with the great number of Calvinists that favored this benevolent but arduous design. The most eminent Calvinistical advocate of peace was John Dureus, a native of Scotland, justly celebrated on account of his universal benevolence, solid piety, and extensive learning, but, at the same time, more remarkable for genius and memory, than for nicety of discernment and accuracy of judgement, as might be evinced by several proofs and testimonies, were this the proper place for discussions of that nature. Be that as it will, never, perhaps, were greater zeal and perseverance manifested than by Dureus, who, during a period of forty-three years[k], suffered vexations and underwent labors which required the firmest resolution and the most inexhaustible patience; wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated, and disputed; in a word, tried every method that human wisdom could suggest, to put an end to the dissensions and animosities that reigned among the Protestant churches. It was not merely by the persuasive eloquence of his pen, or by forming plans in the silence of the closet, that this worthy divine performed the task which his benevolence and zeal engaged him to undertake; his activity and industry were equal to his zeal; he traveled through all the countries in Europe, where the Protestant religion had obtained any footing; he formed connexions with the doctors of both parties; he addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers; and by representing, in lively and striking colors, the utility and importance of the plan he had formed, hoped to engage them more or less in

[k] From the year 1631 to 1674.

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[1] See Coleri Historia Joh. Duræi, to which many important additions might be made from public records, and also from documents that have not yet seen the light. Some records and documents of the kind here referred to, have been published by Hasæus, in his Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philologica, tom. i. p. 911, and tom. iv. p. 683. A still greater number are given by Gesselius, in the addenda to his Historia Ecclesiastica, tom. ii. p. 614. The transactions of Duræus at Marpurg, are mentioned by Schenk, in his Vitæ Professorum Theologiæ Marpurg. p. 207.—His attempts in Holstein may be learned from the letters of Lackman and Lossius, which are joined together in the same volume. His exploits in Prussia and Poland are recorded by Jablonsky, in his Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis, p. 127; and his labors in Switzerland, Denmark, and the Palatinate, are mentioned respectively in the Museum Helveticum, tom. iii. iv. v. by Elswich, in his Fasciculus Epistol. Theolog. p. 147, and by Seelen, in the Deliciæ Epistol. p. 353. —See also Jaegeri Historia Sæculi xvii. decenn. vii. p. 171;

It may not be improper to observe here, that Dureus, who, notwithstanding the general uprightness of his intentions, was sometimes deficient in ingenuous frankness, had annexed to his plan of reconciliation certain doctrines which, were they susceptible of proof, would serve as a foundation for the union, not only of the Lutherans and Calvinists, but also of all the different sects that bear the Christian name; for, among other things, he maintained, that the Apostles' Creed was a complete body of divinity; that the Ten Commandments formed a perfect system of morals, and the Lord's Prayer a comprehensive series of petitions for all the blessings contained in the divine promises. Now if this notion, that these sacred compositions contain all that is essential to faith, obedience, and devotion, had been universally entertained, or evidently demonstrated, it would not have been a chimerical project to aim at a reconciliation of all Christian churches upon this basis, and to render these compositions the foundation of their coalition and the bond of their union. But it would have been highly chimerical to expect, that the Christian sects would universally adopt this notion, or be pleased to see the doctrines of Christianity reduced to such general principles. It is farther to be observed, with respect to Dureus, that he shewed a peculiar propensity toward the sentiments of the Mystics and Quakers, on account of their tendency to favor his conciliatory and pacific project. Like them, he placed the essence of religion in the ascent of the soul to God, in calling forth the hidden word, in fanning the divine spark that resides in the recesses of the human mind; and, in consequence of this system, he was intimately persuaded, that differences merely in theological opinions did not at all concern the essence of true piety.

the Englische Reformations Historie, by Bohm, and more especially an account of Duræus, published under my direction at Helmstadt, in 1744, by Benzelius, and entitled, Dissertatio de Johan. Duræo, maxime de Actis ejus Suecanis.

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Matthias and Calixtus.

VII. Among the Lutherans, those who appeared the most zealous in this pacific cause, were John Matthias [m], bishop of Strengnes in Sweden, and George Calixtus, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, whom Dureus had animated with a portion of his charitable and indulgent spirit. The former was a man of capacity and merit; the latter was eminently distinguished among the divines of this century, by his learning, genius, probity, and candor; but both failed in the arduous undertaking in which they had engaged, and suffered considerably in their attempts to promote the cause of unity and concord. The *Olive-branches* [n] of Matthias, who entitled thus his pacific productions, were, by a royal edict, publicly condemned and suppressed in Sweden; and their author, in order to appease the fury of his enemies, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and pass the rest of his days in retirement [o]. The zeal of Calixtus, in calming the tumultuous and violent spirit of the contending parties, drew upon him the bitterest reproaches, and the warmest animosity and resentment from those who were more bent on maintaining their peculiar opinions, than in promoting that charity which is the end of the commandment; and, while he was laboring to remove all sects and divisions, he appeared to many of his brethren in the light of a new sectary, who was founding the most pernicious of all sects, even that of the Syncretists, who were supposed to promote peace and concord at the expence of truth. We shall, before we finish this chapter, endeavour to give a more particular and circumstantial account of

☞ [m] Matthias had been chaplain to Gustavus Adolphus, and was afterwards appointed, by that prince, preceptor to his daughter Christina, so famous in history, on account of the whimsical peculiarities of her character, her taste for learning, and her desertion of the Swedish throne and the protestant religion.

[n] Rami Olivæ Septentrionalis.

[o] See Schefferi Suecia Literata, p. 123, and Joh. Molleri ad eam Hypomnemata, p. 317.—Archenholtz, Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. i. p. 320, 505; tom. ii. p. 63.

the sentiments and trials of this great man, to whose charge many other things were laid, beside the *crime* of endeavouring to unite the disciples of the same master in the amiable bonds of charity, concord, and mutual forbearance, and whose opinions and designs excited warm contests in the Lutheran church.

The prosperous events that happened to the Lutheran church.

VIII. The external state of the Lutheran church at this period was attended with various circumstances of prosperity, among which we may reckon its standing firm against the assaults of Rome, whose artifice and violence were in vain employed to effect its destruction. It is well known, that a very considerable number of Lutherans resided in those provinces where the public exercise of their religion was prohibited. It has more especially been shewn by the late memorable emigration of the Saltzburghers [p], that a still greater number of them lay concealed in that land of despotism and bigotry, where the smallest dissent from popery, with whatever secrecy and circumspection it may be disguised, is considered as an enormous and capital crime; and that they preserved their religious sentiments and doctrines pure and uncorrupted amidst the contagion of Romish superstition, which they always beheld with aversion and horror. In those countries which are inhabited by persons of different communions, and whose sovereigns are members of the Romish church, we have numberless instances of the cruelty and injustice practised by the papists against those who dissent from them; and these cruelties are exercised under a pretext suggested by the most malevolent bigotry, which represents these dissenters as seditious subjects, and consequently as worthy of the most rigorous treatment. And yet it is certain that, amidst all these vexations, the Lutheran church stood its

☞ p For an account of the persecuted Lutherans in the archbishopric of Saltzburg, see Burnet's Travels. See more especially a famous Latin discourse, entitled, Commentariolus Theologicus de non tolerandis in Religione Dissentientibus, published at Tubingen, in 1732, by W. L. Letsching.

CENT. XVII. ground; nor could either the craft or fury of its enemies, in any country, deprive it entirely of its rights and privileges. It may also be observed, that the doctrine of Luther was carried into Asia, Africa, and America, by several persons who fixed their habitations in those distant regions, and was also introduced into some parts of Europe, where it had hitherto been unknown.

The progress of learning among the Lutherans.

IX. When we turn our view to the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century, we shall find it improved in various respects. Though several blemishes yet remained that clouded its lustre, it must be acknowleged, to the honor of the Lutherans, that they cultivated all the branches of literature, both sacred and profane, with uncommon industry and success, and made several improvements in the sciences, which are too well known to stand in need of a particular mention, and of which a circumstantial enumeration would be inconsistent with the brevity required in an historical compedium. But if it cannot be denied, on one hand, that the cause of religion gained by these improvements in learning, it must be owned, on the other, that some branches of science were perverted by injudicious or ill-designing men, to corrupt the pure simplicity of genuine Christianity, and to render its doctrines abstruse and intricate. Thus it too often happens in life, that the best things are the most egregiously abused. About the commencement of this century, the sciences chiefly cultivated in the schools were logic and metaphysics, though the manner in which they were treated was almost entirely destitute of elegance, simplicity, and precision. But, in process of time, the scene changed in the seminaries of learning; and the more entertaining and agreeable branches of literature, that polish wit, excite taste, exercise judgement, and enrich memory, such as civil and natural history, philology, antiquities, criticism, and eloquence, gained the ascendency. Both these kinds of knowlege acquired also a more graceful, consistent, and regular

form than that under which they had hitherto appeared. But it unfortunately happened, that, while the boundaries of science were extended from day to day, and new discoveries and improvements were constantly enriching the republic of letters, the credit of learning began sensibly to decrease, and learned men seemed gradually to lose those peculiar marks of veneration and distinction that the novelty of their character, as well as the excellence and importance of their labors, had hitherto drawn from the public. Among the various circumstances that contributed to this decline of literary glory, we may particularly reckon the multitude of those who, without natural capacity, taste, or inclination, were led, by authority or a desire of applause, to literary pursuits, and, by their ignorance or their pedantry, cast a reproach upon the republic of letters.

The state of philosophy. The Aristotelians triumph.

X. The only kind of philosophy that was taught in the Lutheran schools, during the greatest part of this century, was that of Aristotle, dressed up in that scholastic form which increased its native intricacy and subtilty; and such was the devout and excessive veneration entertained by many for this abstruse system, that any attempt to reject the Grecian oracle, or to correct its decisions, was looked upon as of the most dangerous consequence to the interests of the church, and as equally criminal with a like attempt upon the sacred writings. Those who distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner by their zealous and invincible attachment to the Peripatetic philosophy, were the divines of Leipsic, Tubingen, Helmstadt, and Altorf. The enchantment, however, was not universal; and there were many who, withdrawing their private judgement from the yoke of authority, were bold enough to see with their own eyes, and thus discerned the blemishes that were indeed sufficiently visible in the pretended wisdom of the Grecian sage. The first attempt to reduce his authority within narrow bounds was made

CENT. XVII. by certain pious and prudent divines[q], who, though they did not pretend to discourage all philosophical inquiries, yet were desirous of confining them to a few select subjects, and complained, that the pompous denomination of philosophy was too frequently prostituted by being applied to unintelligible distinctions, and words (or rather sounds) destitute of sense. These were succeeded in their repugnance to the Peripatetic philosophy by the disciples of Ramus, who had credit enough to banish it from several seminaries of learning, and to substitute in its place the system of their master, which was of a more practical kind, and better adapted to the purposes of life[r]. But, if the philosophy of Aristotle met with adversaries, who opposed it upon solid and rational principles, it had also enemies of a very different character, who imprudently declaimed against philosophy in general, as highly detrimental to the cause of religion and the interests of society. Such was the fanatical extravagance of Daniel Hoffman, professor at Helmstadt, who betrayed, in this controversy, an equal degree of ignorance and animosity; and such also were the followers of Robert Fludd, Jacob Behmen, and the Rosecrucians, who boasted of having stricken out, by the assistance of *fire* and *divine illumination*, a new, wonderful, and celestial system of philosophy, of which mention has been already made[s]. These adversaries of the Stagirite were divided among themselves; and this diminished the strength and vigor of their opposition to the common enemy. But, even if they had been very closely united in their sentiments and measures, they would not have

[q] Among these we find Wenceslaus Schellingius, of whom a particular account is given by Arnold, in his Histor. Eccles. et Hæret. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi.

[r] See Jo. Herman ab Elswich, de variâ Aristotelis fortunâ, sect. xxi. p. 54, and Walchius, Historia Logices, lib. ii. cap. ii. sect. iii. v. in Parergis ejus Academicis, p. 613.

[s] See above, in the General History of the Church, sect. 31.

been able to overturn the empire of Aristotle, which was deeply rooted in the schools through long possession, and had a powerful support in the multitude of its votaries and defenders.

The freedom of philosophical inquiry gains ground.

XI. The Peripatetic system had still more formidable adversaries to encounter in Des-Cartes and Gassendi, whose writings were composed with such perspicuity and precision as rendered them highly agreeable to many of the Lutheran doctors of this century, who were hence induced to look with contempt on that obsolete and barren philosophy of the schools, which was expressed in uncouth terms and barbarous phrases, without taste, elegance, or accuracy. The votaries of Aristotle beheld with envy these new philosophers, used their most zealous endeavours to bring them into discredit, and, for this purpose, represented their researches and principles as highly injurious to the interests of religion and the growth of true piety. But when they found, by experience, that these methods of attack proved unsuccessful, they changed their method of proceeding, and (like a prudent general, who, besieged by a superior force, abandons his outworks and retires into the citadel) they relinquished much of their jargon, and defended only the main and essential principles of their system. To render these principles more palatable, they began to adorn them with the graces of elocution, and to mingle with their philosophical tenets the charms of polite literature. They even went so far as to confess, that Aristotle, though the prince of philosophers, was chargeable with errors and defects, which it was both lawful and expedient to correct. But these concessions only served to render their adversaries more confident and enterprising, since they were interpreted as resulting from a consciousness of their weakness, and were looked upon as a manifest acknowlegement of their defeat. In consequence of this, the enemies of the Stagirite renewed their attacks with redoubled impetuosity, and with

CENT. XVII. a full assurance of victory; nor did they confine them to those branches of the Peripatetic philosophy which were allowed by its votaries to stand in need of correction, but leveled them, without distinction, at the whole system, and aimed at nothing less than its total dissolution. Grotius, indeed, who marched at the head of these philosophical reformers, proceeded with a certain degree of prudence and moderation. Pufendorff, in treating of the law of nature and of the duties of morality, threw off, with more boldness and freedom, the Peripatetic yoke, and pursued a method entirely different from that which had been hitherto observed in the schools. This freedom drew upon him a multitude of enemies, who loaded him with the bitterest reproaches; his example, however, was imitated by Thomasius, professor of law in the academy of Leipsic, and afterwards at Hall, who attacked the Peripatetics with new degrees of vehemence and zeal. This eminent man, though honorably distinguished by the excellence of his genius and the strength of his resolution, was not, perhaps, the most proper person that could be fixed upon to manage the interests of philosophy. His views, nevertheless, were vast; he aimed at the reformation of philosophy in general, and of the Peripatetic system in particular; and he assiduously employed both the power of exhortation and the influence of example, in order to persuade the Saxons to reject the Aristotelian system, which he had never read, and which most certainly he did not understand. The scheme of philosophy, that he substituted in its place, was received with little applause, and soon fell into oblivion; but his attempt to overturn the system of the Peripatetics, and to restore the freedom of philosophical inquiry, was attended with remarkable success, made, in a little time, the most rapid progress, and produced such admirable effects, that Thomasius is justly looked upon, to this day, as the chief of those bold spirits who pulled down philosophical tyranny from

its throne in Germany, and gave a mortal blow to what was called the Sectarian Philosophy[t] in that country. The first seminary of learning that adopted the measures of Thomasius was that of Hall in Saxony, where he was professor; this example was followed by the rest of the German schools, by some sooner, and by others later; and thence a spirit of philosophical liberty began to spread itself into other countries where the Lutheran religion was established; so that, toward the conclusion of this century, the Lutherans enjoyed a perfect liberty of conducting their philosophical researches in that manner which they judged the most conformable with truth and reason, of departing from the mere dictates of authority in matters of science, and of proposing publicly every one his respective opinions. This liberty was not the consequence of any positive decree of the state, nor was it inculcated by any law of the church; it seemed to result from that invisible disposal of things, which we call accident, and certainly proceeded from the efforts of a few great men, seconding and exciting the natural propensity toward free inquiry, that can never be totally extinguished in the human mind. Many employed this liberty in extracting, after the manner of the ancient Eclectics, what they thought most conformable to reason, and most susceptible of demonstration, from the productions of the different schools, and connecting these extracts in such a manner as to constitute a complete body of philosophy. But some made a yet more noble use of this inestimable privilege, by employing, with indefatigable zeal and industry, their *own faculties* in the investigation of truth, and building upon solid and unchangeable principles a new and

☞ [t] By the Sectarian Philosophers were meant those who followed implicitly some one of the ancient philosophical sects, without daring to use the dictates of their private judgement, to correct or modify the doctrines or expressions of these hoary guides.

CENT. XVII. sublime system of philosophy [u]. At the head of these we may place Leibnitz, whose genius and labors have deservedly rendered his name immortal.

In this conflict between the reformers of philosophy and the votaries of Aristotle, the latter lost ground from day to day; and his system, in consequence of the extremes into which reformers often fall, became so odious, that condemnation was passed on every part of it. Hence the science of Metaphysics, which the Grecian sage had considered as the master-science, as the original fountain of all true philosophy, was despoiled of its honors and fell into contempt; nor could the authority and influence even of Des-Cartes (who also set out, in his inquiries, on metaphysical principles) support it effectually against the prejudices of the times. However, when the first heat of opposition began to cool, and the rage of party to subside, this degraded science was not only recalled from its exile, by the interposition and credit of Leibnitz, but was also reinstated in its former dignity and lustre.

The virtues and defects of the Lutheran doctors.

XII. The defects and vices of the Lutheran clergy have been circumstantially exposed and even exaggerated by many writers, who seem to require in the ministers of the Gospel a degree of perfection, which ought indeed always to be aimed at, but which no wise observer of human nature can ever hope to see generally reduced to practice. These censors represent the leading men of the Lutheran church as arrogant, contentious, despotic, and uncharitable; as destitute of Christian simplicity and candor; fond of quibbling and dispute; judging of all things by the narrow spirit of party; and treating with the utmost antipathy and aversion those who differ from them very slightly in religious matters. The less considerable among the Lutheran doctors are charged with

[u] The curious reader will find an accurate and ample account of this revolution in philosophy, in the learned Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ.

ignorance, with a neglect of the sacred duties of their station, and with a want of talent in their characters as public teachers; and avarice, indolence, want of piety, and corruption of manners, are boldly imputed to the whole body.

It will be acknowleged, without difficulty, by those who have studied with attention and impartiality the genius, manners, and history of this century, that the Lutheran clergy were not wholly irreproachable with respect to the matters that are here laid to their charge, and that many Lutheran churches were under the direction of pastors who were highly deficient, some in zeal, others in abilities, many in both, and consequently ill qualified for propagating the truths of Christianity with wisdom and success. But this reproach is not peculiarly applicable to the seventeenth century; it is a general charge, that, with too much truth, may be brought against all the ages of the church. On the other hand, it must be acknowleged, by all such as are not blinded by ignorance or partiality, that the whole of the Lutheran clergy did not consist of these unworthy pastors, and that many of the Lutheran doctors of this century were distinguished by their learning, piety, gravity, and wisdom; and perhaps it might be difficult to decide, whether in our times, in which some pretend that the sanctity of the primitive doctors is revived in several places, there be not as many that do little honor to the pastoral character as in the times of our ancestors. It must farther be observed, that many of the defects which are invidiously charged upon the doctors of this age, were in a great measure occasioned by the infelicity of the times. They were the unhappy effects of those public calamities which a dreadful war of thirty years produced in Germany; they derived strength from the influence of a corrupt education, and were sometimes encouraged by the protection and countenance of vicious and profligate magistrates.

The vices of the Lutheran clergy partly owing to the times in which they lived.

XIII. That the vices of the Lutheran clergy were

CENT. XVII. partly owing to the infelicity of the times, will appear evident from some particular instances. It must be acknowleged that, during the greatest part of this century, neither the discourses of the pulpit, nor the instructions of the schools, were adapted to promote, among the people, just ideas of religion, or to give them a competent knowlege of the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. The eloquence of the pulpit, as some ludicrously and too justly represent it, was reduced, in many places, to the noisy art of bawling (during a certain space of time measured by a sand-glass) upon various points of theology, which the orators understood very imperfectly, and which the people did not understand at all; and, when the important doctrines and precepts of Christianity were introduced in these public discourses, they were frequently disfigured by tawdry and puerile ornaments, wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the divine wisdom that shines forth in the Gospel, and were thus, in a great measure, deprived of their native beauty, efficacy, and power. All this must be confessed; but perhaps it may not appear an object of wonder, when all things are duly considered. The ministers of the Gospel had their heads full of sonorous and empty words, of trivial distinctions and metaphysical subtilties, and very ill furnished with that kind of knowlege which is adapted to touch the heart and to reform the life; they had also few models of true eloquence before their eyes; and therefore it is not very surprising, that they dressed out their discourses with foreign and tasteless ornaments.

The charge brought against the universities, that they spent more time in subtile and contentious controversy, than in explaining the Scriptures, teaching the duties of morality, and promoting a spirit of piety and virtue, though too just, yet may also be alleviated by considering the nature and circumstances of the times. The Lutherans were surrounded with a multitude of adversaries, who obliged them to be

perpetually in a posture of defence; and the Roman Catholics, by threatening their destruction, contributed, in a more particular manner, to excite in their doctors that polemic spirit which unfortunately became a habit, and had an unhappy influence on the exercise both of their academical and pastoral functions. In time of war, the military art not only becomes singularly respectable, but is preferred, without hesitation, to all others, on account of its tendency to maintain the inestimable blessings of liberty and independence; and thus, in the midst of theological commotions, the spirit of controversy, by becoming necessary, gains an ascendency, which, even when the danger is over, it is unwilling to lose. It is indeed ardently to be wished, that the Lutherans had treated with more mildness and charity those who differed from them in religious opinions, and had discovered more indulgence and forbearance toward such, more especially, as by ignorance, fanaticism, or excessive curiosity, were led into error, yet without pretending to disturb the public tranquillity by propagating their particular systems. But they had unhappily imbibed a spirit of persecution in their early education; this was too much the spirit of the times, and it was even a leading maxim with our ancestors, that it was both lawful and expedient to use severity and force against those whom they looked upon as heretics. This maxim was derived from Rome; and even those who separated from that church did not find it easy to throw off, suddenly, that despotic and uncharitable spirit which had so long been the main-spring of its government, and the general characteristic of its members. In their narrow views of things, their very piety seemed to suppress the generous movements of fraternal love and forbearance; and the more they felt themselves animated with a zeal for the divine glory, the more difficult did they find it to renounce that ancient and favorite maxim, which had so often been ill interpreted and ill applied, that 'whoever is

CENT. XVII. 'found to be an enemy to God, ought also to be declared an enemy to his country [w].'

The ecclesiastical laws and polity of the Lutherans.

XIV. There were few or no changes introduced, during this century, into the form of government, the method of worship, and the external rites and ceremonies of the Lutheran church. Many alterations would indeed have been made in all these, had the princes and states of that communion judged it expedient to put in execution the plans that had been laid by Thomasius, and other eminent men, for reforming its ecclesiastical polity. These plans were built upon a new principle, which supposed, that the majesty and supreme authority of the sovereign formed the only source of church-power. On this fundamental principle, which these great men took all imaginable pains to prove, by solid and striking arguments, they raised a voluminous system of laws, which, in the judgement of many, evidently tended to these conclusions;—that the same sovereign who presides in the state ought to rule in the church; that prince and pontiff are inseparable characters; and that the ministers of the Gospel are not the ambassadors of the Deity, but the deputies or vicegerents of the civil magistrate. These reformers of Lutheranism did not stop here; they reduced within narrower bounds the few privileges and advantages that the clergy yet retained; and treated many of the rites, institutions, and customs of our church, as the remains of popish superstition. Hence an abundant source of contention was opened, and a long and tedious controversy was carried on with warmth and animosity between the clergy and civilians. We leave it to others to determine with what views these debates

☞ [w] It is to be wished that the Lutherans had not, in many places, persevered in these severe and despotic principles longer than other Protestant churches. Until this very day, the Lutherans of Frankfort on the Maine have always refused to permit the Reformed to celebrate public worship within the bounds, or even in the suburbs of that city. Many attempts have been made to conquer their obstinacy in this respect, but hitherto without success.

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were commenced and fomented, and with what success they were respectively carried on. We shall only observe, that their effects and consequences were unhappy, as, in many places, they proved seriously detrimental to the reputation of the clergy, to the dignity and authority of religion, and to the peace and prosperity of the Lutheran church[x]. The present state of that church verifies too plainly this observation. It is now its fate to see few entering into its public service, who are adapted to restore the reputation it has lost, or to maintain that which it yet retains. Those who are distinguished by illustrious birth, uncommon genius, and a liberal and ingenuous turn of mind, look upon the study of theology, which has so few external honors and advantages to recommend it, as below their ambition; and hence the number of wise, learned, and eminent ministers may be said gradually to decrease. This circumstance is deeply lamented by those among us who consider with attention the dangerous and declining state of the Lutheran church; and it is to be feared, that our descendants will have reason to lament it still more bitterly.

The most eminent Lutheran writers.

XV. The eminent writers that adorned the Lutheran church through the course of this century, were many in number. We shall only mention those whom it is most necessary for a student of ecclesiastical history to be more particularly acquainted with; such are Giles and Nicolas Hunnius—Leonard Hutter—Joseph and John Ernest Gerard—George and Frederic Ulric Calixtus—the Mentzers—God-

☞ [x] It has been the misfortune even of well-meaning persons to fall into pernicious extremes, in the controversies relating to the foundation, power, and privileges of the church. Too few have steered the middle way, and laid their plans with such equity and wisdom as to maintain the sovereignty and authority of the *state*, without reducing the *church* to a mere creature of civil policy. The reader will find a most interesting view of this nice and important subject in the learned and ingenious bishop Warburton's Alliance between Church and State, and in his dedication of the second volume of his Divine Legation of Moses, to the earl of Mansfield.

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frey and John Olearius—Frederic Baldwin—Albert Grawer—Matthias Hoe—two of the name of Carpzovius—John and Paul Tarnovius—John Affelman—Eilhart Luber—the Lysers—Michael Walther—Joachim Hildebrand—John Valentine Andreas—Solomon Glassius—Abraham Calovius—Theodore Hackspan—John Hulseman—Jacob Weller—Peter and John Musæus, brothers—John Conrad Danhaver—John George Dorschæus—John Arndt—Martin Geyer—John Adam Schartzer—Balthazar and John Meisner—Augustus Pfeiffer—Henry and John Muller—Justus Christopher Schomer—Sebastian Schmidt—Christopher Kortholt—the Osianders—Philip Jacob Spener—Geb. Theodore Meyer—Fridem. Bechman—and others [y].

An historical view of the religious doctrine of the Lutherans.

XVI. The doctrine of the Lutheran church remained entire during this century; its fundamental principles received no alteration, nor could any doctor of that church, who should have presumed to renounce or invalidate any of those theological points which are contained in the symbolical books of the Lutherans, have met with toleration and indulgence. It is, however, to be observed, that, in later times, various circumstances contributed to diminish, in many places, the authority of these oracles, which had so long been considered as almost infallible rules of faith and practice. Hence arose that unbounded liberty, which is at this day enjoyed by all who are not invested with the character of public teachers, of dissenting from the decisions of these symbols or creeds, and of declaring this dissent in the manner they judge the most expedient. The case was very different in former times: whoever ventured to oppose any of the received doctrines of the church, or to spread new religious opinions among the people, was called before the higher powers to give an account of

[y] For an account of the lives and writings of these authors, see Witte's Memoriæ Theologorum, and his Diarium Biographicum; as also Pippingius, Goesius, and other writers of literary history.

his conduct, and very rarely escaped without suffering in his fortune or reputation, unless he renounced his innovations. But the teachers of novel doctrines had nothing to apprehend, when, toward the conclusion of this century, the Lutheran churches adopted the leading maxim of the Arminians, that "Christians were accountable to God alone for their religious sentiments, and that no individual could be justly punished by the magistrate for his erroneous opinions, while he conducted himself like a virtuous and obedient subject, and made no attempts to disturb the peace and order of civil society." It is to be wished, that this religious liberty, which the advocates of equity must approve, but of which the virtuous mind alone can make a wise and proper use, had never degenerated into the unbridled licentiousness that holds nothing sacred, but with an audacious insolence tramples under foot the solemn truths of religion, and is constantly endeavouring to throw contempt upon the respectable profession of its ministers.

Sacred philology cultivated among the Lutherans.

XVII. The various branches of sacred erudition were cultivated with uninterrupted zeal and assiduity among the Lutherans, who, in no period, were without able commentators, and learned and faithful guides for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. It is proper to mention here Tarnovius, Gerard, Hackspan, Calixtus, Erasmus Schmidt, to whom might be added a numerous list of learned and judicious expositors of the sacred oracles. But what appears more peculiarly worthy of observation is, that the very period which some look upon as the most barren of learned productions, and the most remarkable for a general inattention to the branch of erudition now under consideration, produced that inestimable and immortal work of Solomon Glassius, which he published under the title of Sacred Philology, and than which none can be more useful for the interpretation of Scripture, as it throws an uncommon degree of light upon the language and phraseology of the inspired writers. It must, at the same time, be can-

CENT. XVII. didly acknowleged, that a considerable part of this century was more employed, by the professors of the different universities, in defending, with subtilty and art, the peculiar doctrines of the Lutheran church, than in illustrating and explaining the Scripture, the only genuine source of divine truth. Whatever was worthy of censure in this manner of proceeding, was abundantly repaired by the more modern divines of the Lutheran communion: for no sooner did the rage of controversy begin to subside, than the greatest part of them turned their principal studies toward the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings; and they were particularly animated in the execution of this laborious task, by observing the indefatigable industry of those among the Dutch divines, who, in their interpretations of Scripture, followed the sentiments and method of Cocceius. At the head of these modern commentators we may place, with justice, Sebastian Schmidt, who was at least the most laborious and voluminous expositor of this age. After this learned writer, may be ranked Calovius, Geyer, Schomer, and others of inferior note [z]. The contests excited by the persons called Pietists, though unhappy in several respects, were nevertheless attended with this good effect, that they engaged many to apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures, which they had too much neglected before that period, and to the perusal of the commentators and interpreters of the sacred oracles. These commentators pursued various methods, and were unequal both in their merit and success. Some confined themselves to the mere signification of the words, and the literal sense that belonged to the phrases of the inspired writers; others applied their expositions to the decision of controverted points, and attacked their adversaries, either by refuting their false interpretations, or by making use of their own commentaries to overturn their doctrines; a third sort, after unfolding the sense

[z] See J. Franc. Buddei Isagoge in Theologiam, lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 1686.

of Scripture, applied it carefully to the purposes of life and the direction of practice. We might mention another class of interpreters, who, by an assiduous perusal of the writings of the Cocceians, are said to have injudiciously acquired their defects, as appears by their turning the sacred history into allegory, and seeking rather the more remote and mysterious sense of Scripture, than its obvious and literal signification.

The didactic theology; or, articles of faith adopted by the Lutherans.

XVIII. The principal doctors of this century followed, at first, the loose method of deducing their theological doctrines from Scripture under a few general heads. This method had been observed in ancient times by Melanchthon, and was vulgarly called *common-place* divinity. They, however, made use of the principles, terms, and subtile distinctions of the Peripatetic philosophy, which was yet in high reputation, in explaining and illustrating each particular doctrine. The first person that reduced theology into a regular system, and gave it a truly scientific and philosophical form, was George Calixtus, a man of great genius and erudition, who had imbibed the spirit of the Aristotelian school. His general design was not so much censured, as the particular method he followed, and the form he gave to his system; for he divided the whole science of divinity into three parts, viz. the *end*, the *subject*, the *means;* and this division, which was borrowed from Aristotle, appeared to many extremely improper. This philosophical method of arranging the truths of Christianity was followed, with remarkable zeal and emulation, by the most eminent doctors in the different schools of learning; and even in our times it has its votaries. Some indeed had the courage to depart from it, and to exhibit the doctrines of religion under a different, though still under a scientific form; but they had few followers, and struggled in vain against the empire of Aristotle, who reigned with a despotic authority in the schools.

There were, however, many pious and good men, who beheld, with great displeasure, this irruption of

CENT. XVII. metaphysics into the sphere of theology, and never could be brought to approve this philosophical method of teaching the doctrines of Christianity. They earnestly desired to see divine truth freed from captious questions and subtilties, delivered from the shackles of an imperious system, and exhibited with that beautiful simplicity, perspicuity, and evidence, in which it appears in the sacred writings. Persons of this turn had their wishes and expectations in some measure answered, when, toward the conclusion of this century, the learned Spener, and others who were animated by his exhortations and example, began to inculcate the truths and precepts of religion in a more plain and popular manner, and when the eclectics had succeeded so far as to dethrone Aristotle, and to banish his philosophy from the greatest part of the Lutheran schools. Spener was not so far successful as to render universal his popular method of teaching theology; it was nevertheless adopted by a considerable number of doctors: and it cannot be denied, that, since this period, the science of divinity, delivered from the jargon of the schools, has assumed a more liberal and graceful aspect. The same observation may be applied to controversial productions; it is certain that polemics were totally destitute of elegance and perspicuity so long as Aristotle reigned in the seminaries of learning, and that they were more or less embellished and improved after the suppression and disgrace of the Peripatetic philosophy. It is, however, to be lamented, that controversy did not lose, at this period, all the circumstances which had so justly rendered it displeasing; and that the defects, that had given such offence in the theological disputants of all parties, were far from being entirely removed. These defects still subsist, though perhaps in a less shocking degree; and, whether we peruse the polemic writers of ancient or modern times, we shall find too few among them who may be said to be animated by the pure love of truth, without any mixture of pride, passion, or partiality, and whom we

may pronounce free from the illusions of prejudice and self-love.

The state of moral science among the Lutherans.

XIX. The science of morals, which must ever be esteemed the master-science, from its immediate influence upon life and manners, was, for a long time, neglected among the Lutherans. If we except a few eminent men, such as Arndt and Gerard, who composed some popular treatises concerning the internal worship of the Deity, and the duties of Christians, there did not appear, in the former part of this century, any moral writer of distinguished merit. Hence it happened, that those who applied themselves to the business of resolving what are called Cases of Conscience, were holden in high esteem, and their tribunals were much frequented. But, as the true principles and foundations of morality were not yet established with a sufficient degree of precision and evidence, their decisions were often erroneous, and they were liable to fall into daily mistakes. Calixtus was the first who separated the objects of faith from the duties of morality, and exhibited the latter under the form of an independent science. He did not, indeed, live to finish this work, the beginning of which met with general applause; his disciples, however, employed, with some degree of success, the instructions they had received from their master, in executing his plan, and composing a system of Moral Theology. This system, in process of time, fell into discredit on account of the Peripatetic form under which it appeared; for, notwithstanding the striking dissimilarity that exists, in the very nature of things, between the beautiful science of morals, and the perplexing intricacies of metaphysics, Calixtus could not abstain from the latter in building his moral system. The moderns, however, stripped morality of the Peripatetic garment. Calling to their assistance the law of nature, which had been explained and illustrated by Pufendorff and other authors, and comparing this law with the sacred writings, they not only discovered the true springs of Christian virtue, and

entered into the true spirit and sense of the divine laws, but also digested the whole science of morals into a better order, and demonstrated its principles with a new and superior degree of evidence.

Commotions and contests in the Lutheran church.

XX. These improvements in theology and morality did not diffuse such a spirit of concord in the Lutheran church, as was sufficient to heal ancient divisions, or to prevent new ones. That church, on the contrary, was involved in the most lamentable commotions and tumults, during the whole course of this century, partly by the controversies that arose among its most eminent doctors, and partly by the intemperate zeal of violent reformers, the fanatical predictions of pretended prophets, and the rash measures of innovators, who studiously spread, among the people, singular notions and (for the most part) extravagant opinions. The controversies that divided the Lutheran doctors may be ranged under two classes, according to their different importance and extent, as some of them involved the whole church in tumult and discord, while others were less general in their pernicious effects. Of the former class there were two controversies, that gave abundant exercise to the polemic talents of the Lutheran divines during the greatest part of this century; and these turned upon the religious systems that are generally known under the denominations of *Syncretism* and *Pietism*. Nothing could be more amiable than the principles that gave rise to the former, and nothing more respectable and praise-worthy than the design that was proposed by the latter. The Syncretists[a], animated with that fraternal love and that pacific spirit, which Jesus Christ had so often recommended as the peculiar characteristics of his true disciples, used their warmest endeavours to promote union and concord among Christians; and the Pietists had undoubtedly in view the restoration and advancement of that holiness and

[a] The Syncretists were also called Calixtines, from their chief, George Calixtus; and Helmstadians, from the university where their plan of doctrine and union took its rise.

virtue, which had suffered so much by the influence of licentious manners on the one hand, and by the turbulent spirit of controversy on the other. These two great and amiable virtues, that gave rise to the projects and efforts of the two orders of persons now mentioned, were combated by a third, even a zeal for maintaining the truth, and preserving it from all mixture of error. Thus the love of truth was unhappily found to stand in opposition to the love of union, piety, and concord; and thus, in the present critical and corrupt state of human nature, the unruly and turbulent passions of men can, by an egregious abuse, draw the worst consequences from the best things, and render the most excellent principles and views productive of discord, confusion, and calamity.

The rise of the Syncretistical or Calixtine controversies.

XXI. The origin of Syncretism was owing to George Calixtus, of Sleswick, a man of eminent and distinguished abilities and merit, and who had few equals in this century, either in point of learning or genius. This great man being placed in an university[b], which, from the very time of its foundation, had been remarkable for encouraging freedom of inquiry, improved this happy privilege, examined the respective doctrines of the various Christian sects, and found, in the notions commonly received among divines, some things defective and erroneous. He accordingly gave early intimations of his dissatisfaction at the state of theology, and lamented, in a more particular manner, the divisions and factions that reigned among the servants and disciples of the same great master. He therefore turned his views to the salutary work of softening the animosities produced by these divisions, and shewed the warmest desire, not so much of establishing a perfect harmony and concord between the jarring sects, which no human power seemed capable of effecting, as of extinguishing the hatred, and appeasing the resentment, which the contending parties discovered too

[b] The university of Helmstadt, in the duchy of Brunswick, founded in 1576.

CENT. XVII. much in their conduct toward each other. His colleagues did not seem at all averse to this pacific project; and the surprise that this their silence or acquiescence must naturally excite, in such as are acquainted with the theological spirit of the seventeenth century, will be diminished, when it is considered, that the professors of divinity at Helmstadt bind themselves, at their admission, by an oath, to use their best and most zealous endeavours to heal the divisions, and terminate the contests that prevail among Christians. Neither Calixtus, however, nor his friends, escaped the opposition which it was natural to expect in the execution of such an unpopular and comprehensive project. They were warmly attacked, in 1639, by Statius Buscher, a Hanoverian ecclesiastic, a bigoted votary of Ramus, a declared enemy to all philosophy, and a man of great temerity and imprudence. This man, exasperated at the preference given by Calixtus and his companions to the Peripatetic philosophy over the principles of the Ramists, composed a very malignant book entitled, Crypto-Papismus novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis [c], in which Calixtus was charged with a long list of errors. Though this production made some small impression on the minds of certain persons, it is nevertheless probable that Buscher would have almost universally passed for a partial, malicious, and rash accuser, had his invectives and complaints rendered Calixtus more cautious and prudent. But the upright and generous heart of this eminent man, which disdained dissimulation to a degree that bordered upon the extreme of imprudence, excited him to speak with the utmost frankness his private sentiments, and thus to give a certain measure of plausibility to the accusations of his adversary. Both he and his colleague Conrad Horneius maintained, with boldness and perseverance, several propositions, which appeared, to many others beside Buscher, new, singular, and of a dangerous tendency;

[c] i. e. Popery disguised under the mask of the new theological system of Helmstadt.

and Calixtus more especially, by the freedom and plainness with which he declared and defended his sentiments, drew upon himself the resentment and indignation of the Saxon doctors, who, in 1645, were present at the conference of Thorn. He had been chosen by Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, as colleague and assistant to the divines sent from Konigsberg to these conferences; and the Saxon deputies were greatly incensed to see a Lutheran ecclesiastic in the character of an assistant to a deputation of reformed doctors. The first cause of offence was followed by other incidents, in the course of these conferences, which increased the resentment of the Saxons against Calixtus, and made them accuse him of leaning to the side of the reformed churches. We cannot enter here into a circumstantial account of this matter, which would lead us from our main design. We shall only observe, that, when these conferences broke up, the Saxon doctors, and more especially Hulseman, Weller, Scharfius, and Calovius, turned the whole force of their polemic weapons against Calixtus, and, in their public writings, reproached him with apostasy from the principles of Lutheranism, and with a propensity toward the sentiments both of the reformed and Romish churches. This great man did not receive tamely the insults of his adversaries. His consummate knowlege of the philosophy that reigned in the schools, and his perfect acquaintance with the history of the church, rendered him an able disputant; and accordingly he repelled, with the greatest vigor, the attacks of his enemies, and carried on, with uncommon spirit and erudition, this important controversy, until the year 1656, when death put an end to his labors, and transported him from these scenes of dissension and tumult into the regions of peace and concord [d].

[d] Those who desire to be more minutely acquainted with the particular circumstances of this famous controversy, the titles and characters of the books published on that occasion, and the doctrines that produced such warm contests and such deplorable divisions, will do well to consult Walchius, Carolus, Weisman,

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The continuation and issue of these debates.

XXII. Neither the death of Calixtus, nor the decease of his principal adversaries, could extinguish the flame they had kindled: on the contrary, the contest was carried on, after that period, with greater animosity and violence than ever. The Saxon doctors, and more especially Calovius, insulted the ashes and attacked the memory of this great man with unexampled bitterness and malignity; and, in the judgement of many eminent and worthy divines, who were by no means the partisans of Calixtus, conducted themselves with such imprudence and temerity, as tended to produce an open schism in the Lutheran church. They drew up a new creed, or confession of faith[e], which they proposed to place in the class of what the members of our communion call their Symbolical Books, and which, consequently, all professors of divinity and all candidates for the ministry would be obliged to subscribe, as containing the true and genuine doctrine of the church. By this new production of intemperate zeal, the friends and followers of Calixtus were declared unworthy of the communion of that church, and were accordingly

Arnold, and other writers; and, above all, the third volume of the Cimbria Literata of Moller, in which there is an ample account of the life, transactions, and writings of Calixtus. But, if any reader should push his curiosity still farther, and be solicitous to know the more secret springs that acted in this whole affair, the remote causes of the events and transactions relating to it, the spirit, views, and characters of the disputants, the arguments used on both sides,—in a word, those things which are principally interesting and worthy of attention in controversies of this kind,—he will find no history that will satisfy him fully in these respects. A history that would throw a proper light upon these important matters, must be composed by a man of great candor and abilities; by one who knows the world, has studied human nature, is furnished with materials and documents that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, and is not unacquainted with the spirit that reigns, and the cabals that are carried on in the courts of princes. But were such an historian to be found, I question very much, whether, even in our times, he could publish without danger all the circumstances of this memorable contest.

[e] The title of this new creed was, Consensus repetitus Fidei veræ Lutheranæ.

supposed to have forfeited all right to the privileges and tranquillity that were granted to the Lutherans by the laws of the empire. The reputation of Calixtus found, nevertheless, some able defenders, who pleaded his cause with modesty and candor; such were Titius, Hildebrand, and other ecclesiastics, who were distinguished from the multitude by their charity, moderation, and prudence. These good men shewed with the utmost evidence, that the new creed would be a perpetual source of contention and discord, and would thus have a fatal effect upon the true interests of the church: but their counsels were overruled, and their admonitions neglected. Among the writers who opposed this creed, was Frederic Ulric Calixtus, who was not destitute of abilities, though much inferior to his father in learning, genius, and moderation. Of those who stood forth in its vindication and defence, the most considerable were Calovius and Strauchius. The polemic productions of these contending parties were multiplied from day to day, and yet remain as deplorable monuments of the intemperate zeal of the champions. The invectives, reproaches, and calumnies, with which these productions were filled, shewed too plainly that many of these writers, instead of being animated with the love of truth and a zeal for religion, were rather actuated by a keen spirit of party, and by the suggestions of vindictive pride and vanity. These contests were of long duration; they were, however, at length suspended toward the close of this century, by the death of those who had been the principal actors in this scene of theological discord, by the abolition of the creed that had produced it, by the rise of debates of a different nature, and by various circumstances of inferior moment, which do not require particular notice.

The opinions of Calixtus.

XXIII. It will be proper to give here some account of the accusations adduced against Calixtus by his adversaries. The principal charge was, his having formed a project, not of uniting into one ecclesiastical body, as some have understood it, the Romish,

CENT. XVII. Lutheran, and Reformed churches, but of extinguishing the hatred and animosity that reigned among the members of these different communions, and joining them in the bonds of charity, mutual benevolence, and forbearance. This is the project, which was at first condemned, and is still known under the denomination of *Syncretism*[r]. Several singular opinions

[r] It is neither my design nor my inclination to adopt the cause of Calixtus; nor do I pretend to maintain that his writings or his doctrines are exempt from error. But the love of truth obliges me to observe, that it has been the ill fortune of this eminent man to fall into the hands of bad interpreters; and that even those who imagine they have been more successful than others in investigating his true sentiments, have most grievously misunderstood them. Calixtus is commonly supposed to have formed the plan of a formal reconciliation of the protestants with the church of Rome and its pontiffs; but this notion is entirely groundless, since he publicly and expressly declared, that the Protestants could by no means enter into the bonds of concord and communion with the Romish church, as it was constituted at this time; and that, if there had ever existed any prospect of healing the divisions that reigned between it and the Protestant churches, this prospect had entirely vanished since the council of Trent, whose violent proceedings and tyrannical decrees had rendered the union now under consideration absolutely impossible. He is farther charged with having either approved or excused the greatest part of those errors and superstitions, that are looked upon as a dishonor to the church of Rome; but this charge is abundantly refuted, not only by the various treatises, in which he exposed the falsehood and absurdity of the doctrines and opinions of that church, but also by the declarations of the Roman catholics themselves, who acknowlege that Calixtus attacked them with much more learning and ingenuity than had been discovered by any other Protestant writer *. It is true, he maintained that the Lutherans and Roman catholics did not differ about the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith; and it is to be wished, that he had never asserted any such thing, or, at least, that he had expressed his meaning in more proper and inoffensive terms. It must however be considered, that he always looked upon the popes and their votaries, as having adulterated these fundamental doctrines with an impure mixture or addition of many opinions and tenets,

* Bossuet, in his Traité de la Communion sous les deux Especes, speaks thus of the eminent man now under consideration; "Le fameux George Calixte, le plus habile des Lutheriens de notre tems, qui a ecrit le plus doctement contre nous," &c.

were also laid to the charge of this great man, and were exaggerated and blackened, as the most innocent things generally are, when they pass through the medium of malignity and party-spirit. Such were his notions concerning the obscure manner in which the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed under the Old Testament dispensation, the appearances of the Son of God during that period, the necessity of good works to the attainment of everlasting salvation, and God's being occasionally[g] the author of sin. These notions have been considered, by many of the best judges of theology, as of an indifferent nature, as opinions which, even were they false, would not affect the great and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But the two great principles that Calixtus laid down as the foundation of all his reconciling and pacific plans, gave much greater offence than the plans themselves, and drew upon him the indignation and

which no wise and good Christian could adopt; and this consideration diminishes a good deal the extravagance of an assertion, which, otherwise, would deserve the severest censure. We shall not enter farther into a review of the imputations that were cast upon Calixtus, by persons more disposed to listen to his accusers, than to those who endeavour, with candor and impartiality, to represent his sentiments and his measures in their true point of view. But if it should be asked here, what this man's real design was, we answer, that he laid down the following maxims: first, "that, if it were possible to bring back the church of Rome to the state in which it was during the first five centuries, the Protestants would be no longer justified in rejecting its communion: secondly, that the modern members of the Romish church, though polluted with many intolerable errors, were not all equally criminal; and that such of them, more especially, as sincerely believed the doctrines they had learned from their parents or masters, and by ignorance, education, or the power of habit, were hindered from perceiving the truth, were not to be excluded from salvation, or deemed heretics, provided they gave their assent to the doctrines contained in the Apostles' Creed, and endeavoured seriously to govern their lives by the precepts of the Gospel." I do not pretend to defend these maxims, which seem, however, to have many patrons in our times; I would only observe, that the doctrine they contain is much less intolerable than that which was commonly imputed to Calixtus.

[g] *Per accidens.*

CENT. XVII. resentment of many. Those principles were; first, that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity (by which he meant those elementary principles from which all its truths flow) were preserved pure and entire in all the three communions, and were contained in the ancient form of doctrine, vulgarly known by the name of the Apostles' Creed; and, secondly, that the tenets and opinions, which had been constantly received by the ancient doctors during the first five centuries, were to be considered as of equal truth and authority with the express declarations and doctrines of Scripture. The general plan of Calixtus was founded upon the first of these propositions; and he made use of the second to give some degree of plausibility to certain Romish doctrines and institutions, which have been always rejected by the protestant church, and to establish a happy concord between the various Christian communions that had hitherto lived in a state of dissension and separation from each other.

Debates carried on with the doctors of Rintelen and Konigsberg,

XXIV. The divines of Rintelen, Konigsberg, and Jena, were more or less involved in these warm contests. Those of Rintelen, more especially Henichius and Peter Musæus, had, on several occasions, and particularly at the conference of Cassel, shewn plainly that they approved the plan of Calixtus for removing the discords and animosities that reigned among Christians, and that they beheld with peculiar satisfaction that part of it which had, for its objects, union and concord among the protestant churches. Hence they were opposed with great animosity by the Saxon doctors and their adherents, in various polemic productions[h].

The pacific spirit of Calixtus discovered itself also at Konigsberg. John Laterman, Michael Behmius, and the learned Christopher Dryer, who had been the disciples of that great man, were at little pains

[h] See Abrâh. Calovii Historia Syncretistica, p. 618.—Jo. Georgii Walchii Introductio in Controversias Lutheran. vol. i. p. 286.

to conceal their attachment to the sentiments of their master. By this discovery, they drew upon them the resentment of their colleagues John Behmius and Celestine Mislenta, who were seconded by almost the whole body of the clergy of Konigsberg; and thus a warm controversy arose, which was carried on, during many years, in such a manner as did very little honor to either of the contending parties. The interposition of the civil magistrate, together with the decease of Behmius and Mislenta, put an end to this intestine war, which was succeeded, however, by a new contest of long duration between Dryer and his associates on one side, and several foreign divines on the other, who considered the system of Calixtus as highly pernicious, and looked upon its defenders as the enemies of the church. This new controversy was managed, on both sides, with as little equity and moderation as those which preceded it[i].

and those of Jena.

XXV. It must, at the same time, be acknowleged, to the immortal honor of the divines of Jena, that they discovered the most consummate prudence and the most amiable moderation in the midst of these theological debates; for, though they ingenuously confessed, that all the sentiments of Calixtus were not of such a nature, as to be reasonably adopted without exception, yet they maintained, that the greatest part of his tenets were much less pernicious than the Saxon divines had represented them, and that several of them were innocent, and might be freely admitted without any danger to the cause of truth. Solomon Glassius, an ecclesiastic renowned for the mildness of his temper and the equity of his proceedings, examined with the utmost candor and impartiality the opposite sentiments of the doctors who were engaged in this important controversy, and

[i] See Christopher Hartknoch's Church-History of Prussia, book ii. chap. x. p. 602.—Moller's Cimbria Literata, tom. iii. p. 150.—See also the Acts and Documents contained in the famous collection, entitled, Unschuldige Nachrichten, A. 1740. p. 144. A. 1742. p. 29. A. 1745. p. 91.

published the result of this examination, by the express order of Ernest, prince of Saxe-Gotha, surnamed the Pious [k]. John Musæus, a man of superior learning and exquisite penetration and judgement, so far adopted the sentiments of Calixtus and Horneius, as to maintain that good works might, in a certain sense, be considered as necessary to salvation; and that, of the erroneous doctrines imputed to the former of these divines, several were of little importance. It is very probable, that the followers of Calixtus would have willingly submitted this whole controversy to the arbitration of such candid and impartial judges. But this laudable moderation so highly offended the Saxon doctors, that they began to suspect the university of Jena of several erroneous opinions, and marked out Musæus, in a particular manner, as a person who had in various respects apostatised from the true and orthodox faith [l].

The rise of the controversy relating to Pietism.

XXVI. These debates were suppressed and succeeded by new disputes, which are commonly known under the denomination of the *Pietistical Controversy*. This dispute arose from the zeal of a certain set of persons, who, no doubt, with pious and upright intentions, endeavoured to stem the torrent of vice and corruption, and to reform the licentious manners both of the clergy and the people. But, as the best things may be abused, so this reforming spirit inflamed persons who were ill qualified to exert it with wisdom and success. Many, deluded by the suggestions of an irregular imagination and an ill-informed understanding, or guided by principles and views of a criminal nature, spread abroad new and

[k] This piece, which did not appear in public till after the death of Glassius, in 1662, exhibits a rare and shining instance of theological moderation, and is worthy of a serious and attentive perusal.

[l] For an account of the imputations cast upon the divines of Jena, and more especially on Musæus, see a judicious and solid work of the latter, entitled, Der Jenischen Theologen Ausfuhrliche Erklarung, &c.—See also Jo. Georgii Walchii Introductio in Controversias Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ, vol. i. p. 405.

singular opinions, false visions, unintelligible maxims, austere precepts, and imprudent clamors against the discipline of the church; all which excited dreadful tumults, and kindled the flames of contention and discord. The commencement of Pietism was indeed laudable and decent. It was set on foot by the pious and learned Philip James Spener, who, by the private societies which he formed at Francfort, with a view of promoting vital religion, roused the lukewarm from their indifference, and excited a spirit of vigor and resolution in those who had been satisfied to lament, in silence, the progress of impiety. The remarkable effect of these pious meetings was increased by a book published by this well-meaning man, under the title of Pious Desires, in which he exhibited a striking view of the disorders of the church, and proposed the remedies that were proper to heal them. Many persons of good intentions were highly pleased both with the proceedings and writings of Spener; and indeed the majority of those who had the cause of virtue and practical religion at heart, applauded the designs of this good man, though an apprehension of abuses restrained numbers from encouraging them openly. These abuses actually happened. The remedies proposed by Spener to heal the disorders of the church fell into unskilful hands, were administered without sagacity or prudence, and thus, in many cases, proved to be worse than the disease itself. The religious meetings above mentioned (or the *Colleges of Piety*, as they were usually called by a phrase borrowed from the Dutch), tended in many places to kindle in the breasts of the multitude the flames of a blind and intemperate zeal, whose effects were impetuous and violent, instead of that pure and rational love of God, whose fruits are benign and peaceful. Hence complaints arose against these institutions of Pietism, as if, under a striking appearance of sanctity, they led the people into false notions of religion, and fomented, in those who were

CENT. XVII. of a turbulent and violent character, the seeds and principles of mutiny and sedition.

The commotions at Leipsic.

XXVII. These first complaints would have been undoubtedly hushed, and the tumults which they occasioned would have subsided by degrees, had not the contests that arose at Leipsic, in 1689, added fuel to the flame. Some pious and learned professors of philosophy, and particularly Franckius, Schadius, and Paulus Antonius, the disciples of Spener, who at that time was ecclesiastical superintendant of the court of Saxony, began to consider with attention the defects that prevailed in the ordinary method of instructing the candidates for the ministry; and this review persuaded them of the necessity of using their best endeavours to supply what was deficient, and to correct what was amiss. For this purpose, they undertook to explain in their colleges certain books of Scripture, in order to render these genuine sources of religious knowlege better understood, and to promote a spirit of practical piety and vital religion in the minds of their hearers. The novelty of this method drew attention, and rendered it singularly pleasing to many; accordingly, these lectures were much frequented, and their effects were visible in the lives and conversations of several persons, whom they seemed to inspire with a deep sense of the importance of religion and virtue. Whether these first effusions of religious fervor, which were, in themselves, most certainly laudable, were always kept within the strict bounds of reason and discretion, is a question not easily decided. If we are to believe the report of common fame, and the testimonies of several persons of great weight, this was by no means the case; and many things were both said and done in these *Biblical Colleges* (as they were called) which, though they might be looked upon, by equitable and candid judges, as worthy of toleration and indulgence, were contrary to custom, and far from being consistent with prudence. Hence rumors were spread, tumults

excited, animosities kindled, and the matter at length brought to a public trial, in which the pious and learned men above-mentioned were, indeed, declared free from the errors and heresies that had been laid to their charge, but were, at the same time, prohibited from carrying on that plan of religious instruction which they had undertaken with such zeal. It was during these troubles and divisions that the invidious denomination of Pietist was first invented; it may, at least, be affirmed, that it was not commonly known before this period. It was at first applied by some giddy and inconsiderate persons to those who frequented the Biblical Colleges, and lived in a manner suitable to the instructions and exhortations that were addressed to them in those seminaries of piety. It was afterwards used to characterise all who were either distinguished by the excessive austerity of their manners, or who, regardless of truth and opinion, were only intent upon practice, and turned the whole vigor of their efforts toward the attainment of religious feelings and habits. But, as it is the fate of all those denominations by which peculiar sects are distinguished, to be variously and often very improperly applied, so the title of Pietist was frequently given, in common conversation, to persons of eminent wisdom and sanctity, who were equally remarkable for their adherence to truth and their love of piety; and, not seldom, to persons whose motley characters exhibited an enormous mixture of profligacy and enthusiasm, and who deserved the title of delirious fanatics rather than any other denomination.

The progress of these debates.

XXVIII. This contest was by no means confined to Leipsic, but diffused its contagion, with incredible celerity, through all the Lutheran churches, in the different states and kingdoms of Europe; for, from this time, in all the cities, towns, and villages, where Lutheranism was professed, there suddenly started up persons of various ranks and professions, of both sexes, learned and illiterate, who declared that they were called, by a divine impulse, to pull up

CENT. XVII. iniquity by the root, to restore to its primitive lustre, and propagate through the world, the declining cause of piety and virtue, to govern the church of Christ by wiser rules than those by which it was at present directed; and who, partly in their writings, and partly in their private and public discourses, pointed out the means and measures that were necessary to bring about this important revolution. All those, who were stricken with this imaginary impulse, unanimously agreed, that nothing could have a more powerful tendency to progagate among the multitude solid knowlege, pious feelings, and holy habits, than the private meetings which had been first contrived by Spener, and were afterwards introduced into Leipsic. Several religious assemblies were accordingly formed in various places, which, though they differed in some circumstances, and were not all composed and conducted with equal wisdom, piety, and prudence, were intended to promote the same general purpose. In the mean time, these unusual, irregular and tumultuous proceedings, filled, with uneasy and alarming apprehensions, both those who were intrusted with the government of the church, and those who sat at the helm of the state. These apprehensions were justified by this important consideration, that the pious and well-meaning persons who composed these assemblies, had indiscreetly admitted into their community a number of extravagant and hot-headed fanatics, who foretold the approaching destruction of Babel (by which they meant the Lutheran church), terrified the populace with fictitious visions, assumed the authority of prophets honored with a divine commission, obscured the sublime truths of religion by a gloomy kind of jargon of their own invention, and revived doctrines that had long before been condemned by the church. These enthusiasts also asserted, that the *millennium*, (or thousand-years' reign of the saints on earth), mentioned by St. John, was near at hand. They endeavoured to overturn the wisest establishments, and to

destroy the best institutions, and desired that the power of preaching and administering public instruction might be given promiscuously to all sorts of persons. Thus was the Lutheran church torn asunder in the most deplorable manner, while the votaries of Rome stood by and beheld, with a secret satisfaction, these unhappy divisions. The most violent debates arose in all the churches; and persons, whose differences were occasioned rather by mere words and questions of little consequence, than by any doctrines or institutions of considerable importance, attacked one another with the bitterest animosity; and, in many countries, severe laws were at length enacted against the Pietists [m].

The debates carried on with Spener and the divines of Hall.

XXIX. These revivers of piety were of two kinds, who, by their different manner of proceeding, deserve to be placed in two distinct classes. One sect of these practical reformers proposed to carry on their plan without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline, or form of government, established in the Lutheran church. The other maintained, on the contrary, that it was impossible to promote the progress of real piety among the Luther-

[m] This whole matter is amply illustrated by the learned John George Walchius, in his Introductio ad Controversias, vol. ii. and iii. who exhibits successively the various scenes of this deplorable contest, with a view of the principal points that were controverted, and his judgement concerning each, and a particular account of the writers who displayed their talents on this occasion. It would, indeed, be difficult for any one man to give an ample and exact history of this contest, which was accompanied with so many incidental circumstances, and was, upon the whole, of such a tedious and complicated nature. It is therefore to be wished, that a society of prudent and impartial persons, furnished with a competent knowlege of human nature and political transactions, and also with proper materials, would undertake to compose the history of Pietism. If several persons were employed in collecting from public records, and also from papers that are yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious, the events which happened in each country where this controversy reigned; and if these materials, thus carefully gathered on the spot, were put into the hands of a man capable of digesting the whole; this would produce a most interesting and useful history.

CENT. XVII. ans, without making considerable alterations in their doctrine, and changing the whole form of their ecclesiastical discipline and polity. The former had at their head the learned and pious Spener, who, in 1691, removed from Dresden to Berlin, and whose sentiments were adopted by the professors of the new university at Halle, and particularly by Franckius and Paulus Antonius, who had been invited thither from Leipsic, where they began to be suspected of Pietism. Though few pretended to treat either with indignation or contempt the intentions and purpose of these good men (which, indeed, no one could despise without affecting to appear the enemy of practical religion and virtue), yet many eminent divines, and more especially the professors and pastors of Wittenberg, were of opinion, that, in the execution of this laudable purpose, several maxims were adopted, and certain measures employed, that were prejudicial to the truth, and also detrimental to the interests of the church. Hence they thought themselves obliged to proceed publicly, first against Spener, in 1695, and afterwards against his disciples and adherents, as the inventors and promoters of erroneous and dangerous opinions. These debates are of a recent date; so that those who are desirous of knowing more particularly how far the principles of equity, moderation, and candor, influenced the conduct and directed the proceedings of the contending parties, may easily receive satisfactory information.

The subject of these debates.

XXX. These debates turned upon a variety of points; and therefore the matter of them cannot be comprehended under any one general head. If we consider them indeed in relation to their origin, and the circumstances that gave rise to them, we shall be able to reduce them to some fixed principles. It is well known, that those who had the advancement of piety most zealously at heart, entertained a notion that no order of men contributed more to retard its progress than the clergy, whose peculiar vocation it was to inculcate and promote it. While they consi-

dered this as the root of the evil, it was natural that their plans of reformation should begin here; and, accordingly, they laid it down as an essential principle, that none should be admitted into the ministry, but such as had received a proper education, were distinguished by their wisdom and sanctity of manners, and had hearts filled with divine love. Hence they proposed, in the first place, a thorough reformation of the schools of divinity; and they explained clearly enough what they meant by this reformation, which consisted in the following points: That the systematical theology, which reigned in the colleges, and was composed of intricate and disputable doctrines, and obscure and unusual forms of expression, should be totally abolished; that polemical divinity, which comprehended the controversies subsisting between Christians of different communions, should be less eagerly studied, and less frequently treated, though not entirely neglected; that all mixture of philosophy and human learning with divine wisdom was to be most carefully avoided; that, on the contrary, all those who were intended for the ministry, should be accustomed from their early youth to the perusal and study of the Scriptures; that they should be instructed in a plain system of theology, drawn from these unerring sources of truth; and that the whole course of their education was to be so directed, as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine and the commanding influence of their example. As these maxims were propagated with the greatest industry and zeal, and were explained inadvertently by some, without those restrictions which prudence seemed to require, these professed patrons and revivers of piety were suspected of designs that could not but render them obnoxious to censure. They were supposed to despise philosophy and learning, to treat with indifference, and even to renounce, all inquiries into the nature and foundations of religious truth, to disapprove the zeal and labors of those who defended it against such as either

corrupted or opposed it, and to place the whole of their theology in certain vague and incoherent declamations concerning the duties of morality. Hence arose those famous disputes concerning the use of philosophy and the value of human learning, considered in connexion with the interests of religion—the dignity and usefulness of systematic theology—the necessity of polemic divinity—the excellence of the mystic system—and also concerning the true method of instructing the people.

The second great object, that employed the zeal and attention of the persons now under consideration, was, that the candidates for the ministry should not only, for the future, receive such an academical education as would tend rather to solid utility than to mere speculation, but also that they should dedicate themselves to God in a peculiar manner, and exhibit the most striking examples of piety and virtue. This maxim, which, when considered in itself, must be acknowleged to be highly laudable, not only gave occasion to several new regulations, calculated to restrain the passions of the studious youth, to inspire them with pious sentiments, and to excite in them holy resolutions; but also produced another maxim, which was a lasting source of controversy and debate, namely, "that no person, who was not himself a "model of piety and divine love, was qualified to be "a public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in "the way of salvation." This opinion was considered by many as derogatory from the power and efficacy of the word of God, which cannot be deprived of its divine influence by the vices of its ministers, and as a sort of revival of the long-exploded errors of the Donatists; and what rendered it peculiarly liable to an interpretation of this nature was, the imprudence of some Pietists, who inculcated it without those restrictions that were necessary to render it unexceptionable. Hence arose endless and intricate debates concerning the following questions; "whether the "religious knowlege acquired by a wicked man can

"be termed theology?" whether a vicious person "can, in effect, obtain a true knowlege of religion?" —"how far the office and ministry of an impious "ecclesiastic can be pronounced salutary and efficacious?"—"whether a licentious and ungodly man "can be susceptible of illumination?"—and other questions of a like nature.

XXXI. These revivers of declining piety went yet farther. In order to render the ministry of their pastors as successful as possible, in rousing men from their indolence, and in stemming the torrent of corruption and immorality, they judged two things indispensably necessary. The first was, to suppress entirely, in the course of public instruction, and more especially in that delivered from the pulpit, certain maxims and phrases which the corruption of men leads them frequently to interpret in a manner favorable to the indulgence of their passions. Such, in the judgement of the Pietists, were the following propositions; "No man is able to attain that perfection which the divine law requires: good works are not necessary to salvation: in the act of justification, on the part of man, faith alone is concerned, without good works." Many, however, were apprehensive, that, by the suppression of these propositions, truth itself must suffer deeply, and that the Christian religion, deprived thus of its peculiar doctrines, would be exposed, naked and defenceless, to the attacks of its adversaries. The second step they took, in order to give efficacy to their plans of reformation, was to form new rules of life and manners, much more rigorous and austere than those which had been formerly practised, and to place in the class of sinful and unlawful gratifications several kinds of pleasure and amusement, which had hitherto been looked upon as innocent in themselves, and which could only become good or evil, in consequence of the respective characters of those who used them with prudence, or abused them with intemperance. Thus, dancing, public sports, pantomimes, theatrical diversions, the

reading of humorous and comical books, with several other kinds of pleasure and entertainment, were prohibited by the Pietists, as unlawful and unseemly, and, therefore, by no means of an indifferent nature. Many, however, thought this rule of moral discipline far too rigid and severe; and thus was revived the ancient contest of the schoolmen, concerning the famous question, whether any human actions are truly indifferent? i. e. equally removed from moral good on the one hand, and from moral evil on the other; and whether, on the contrary, it be not true, that all actions, whatever, must be either considered as good or as evil? The discussion of this question was attended with a variety of debates upon the several points of the prohibition now mentioned; and these debates were often carried on with animosity and bitterness, and very rarely with that precision, temper, and judgement, which the nicety of the matters in dispute required. The third point, on which the Pietists insisted, was, that beside the stated meetings for public worship, private assemblies should be holden for prayer and other religious exercises. But many were of opinion, that the cause of true piety and virtue was rather endangered than promoted by these assemblies; and experience and observation seemed to confirm this opinion. It would be both endless and unnecessary to enumerate all the little disputes that arose from the appointment of these private assemblies, and, in general, from the notions entertained, and the measures pursued by the Pietists[n]. It is nevertheless proper to observe, that the lenity and indulgence shewn by these people

[n] These debates were first collected, and also needlessly multiplied, by Schelvigius, in his Synopsis Controversiarum sub Pietatis Prætextu motarum, published in 1701. The reader will also find the arguments, used by the contending parties in this dispute, judiciously summed up in two different works of Langius, one entitled Anti-Barbarus, and the other the Middle Way, (*die Mittel-strasse*); the former composed in Latin, the latter in German.—See also the Timotheus Verinus of Val. Ern. Loscher.

to persons whose opinions were erroneous, and whose errors were by no means of an indifferent nature, irritated their adversaries to a very high degree, and made many suspect, that the Pietists laid a much greater stress upon practice than upon belief, and that, separating what ought ever to be inseparably joined, they held virtuous manners in higher esteem than religious truth. Amidst the prodigious numbers that appeared in these controversies it was not at all surprising, if the variety of their characters, capacities, and views, be duly considered, that some were chargeable with imprudence, others with intemperate zeal, and that many, to avoid what they looked upon as unlawful, fell injudiciously into the opposite extreme.

The restorers of vital religion endeavour to promote piety at the expence of truth.

XXXII. The other class of Pietists already mentioned, whose reforming views extended so far, as to change the system of doctrine, and the form of ecclesiastical government, established in the Lutheran church, comprehended persons of various characters and different ways of thinking. Some of them were totally destitute of reason and judgement; their errors were the reveries of a disordered brain; and they were rather to be considered as lunatics than as heretics. Others were less extravagant, and tempered the singular notions, which they had derived from reading or meditation, with a certain mixture of the important truths and doctrines of religion. Of this class we shall mention those only who were distinguished from the rest by superior merit and reputation. Among these we find Godfrey Arnold, a native of Saxony, a man of extensive reading, tolerable parts, and richly endowed with that natural and unaffected eloquence, which is so wonderfully adapted to touch and to persuade. This man disturbed the tranquillity of the church, toward the conclusion of this century, by a variety of theological productions, that were full of new and singular opinions, and more especially by his ecclesiastical history, which he had the assurance to impose upon the public, as a work

CENT. XVII. composed with candor and impartiality. His natural complexion was dark, melancholy, and austere; and these seeds of fanaticism were so expanded and nourished by the perusal of the mystic writers, that the flame of enthusiasm was kindled in his breast, and broke forth in his conduct and writings with peculiar vehemence. He looked upon the Mystics as superior to all other writers, and even as the only depositories of true wisdom; reduced the whole of religion to certain internal feelings and motions, of which it is difficult to form a just idea; neglected entirely the study of truth; and employed the whole power of his genius and eloquence in enumerating, deploring, and exaggerating, the vices and corruptions of human nature. If it is universally allowed to be the first and most essential obligation of an historian to avoid all appearance of partiality, and neither to be influenced by personal attachments nor by private resentment in the recital of facts, it may fairly be acknowleged, that no man could be less fit for writing history than Arnold. His whole history, as every one must see who looks into it with the smallest degree of attention, is the production of a violent spirit, and is dictated by a vehement antipathy to the doctrines and institutions of the Lutheran church. A fundamental principle that influences the judgement, and directs the opinions and decisions of this historian, through the whole course of his work, is, that all the abuses and corruptions that have found admittance into the church since the time of the apostles, have been introduced by its ministers and rulers, men of vicious and abandoned characters. From this principle he draws the following goodly consequence; that all those who opposed the measures of the clergy, or felt their resentment, were persons of distinguished sanctity and virtue; and that, on the contrary, such as either favored the ministers of the church or were favored by them, were strangers to the spirit of true and genuine piety. Hence proceeded Arnold's unaccountable partiality to almost all that

bore the denomination of heretics[o]; whom he defended with the utmost zeal, without having always understood their doctrine, and, in some cases, without having even examined their arguments. This partiality was highly detrimental to his reputation, and rendered his history peculiarly obnoxious to censure. He did not, however, continue in this way of thinking: but, as he advanced in years and experience, perceived the errors into which he had been led by the impetuosity of his passion and the contagious influence of pernicious examples. This sense of his mistakes corrected the vehemence of his natural temper and the turbulence of his party spirit, so that, as we learn from witnesses worthy of credit, he became at last a lover of truth and a pattern of moderation[p].

Dippelius.

XXXIII. Arnold was far exceeded in fanatical malignity and insolence by John Conrad Dippelius, a Hessian divine, who assumed the denomination of the Christian Democritus, inflamed the minds of the simple by a variety of productions, and excited considerable tumults and commotions near the close of this century. This vain, supercilious, and arrogant doctor, who seemed formed by nature for a satirist and a buffoon, instead of proposing any new system of religious doctrine and discipline, was solely employed in overturning those which were received in the protestant church. His days were principally spent in throwing out sarcasms and invectives against all denominations of Christians; and the Lutherans, to whose communion he belonged, were more especially the objects of his raillery and derision, which, on many occasions, spared not those things that had formerly been looked upon as the most respectable

☞ [o] Arnold's history is entitled Historia Ecclesiastica et Hæretica. Dr. Mosheim's account of this learned man is drawn up with much severity, and perhaps is not entirely destitute of partiality. See the Life of Arnold in the General Dictionary.

[p] See Coleri Vita Arnoldi, and also the Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Critique, tom. i. p. 485.

CENT. XVII. and sacred. It is much to be doubted, whether he had formed any clear and distinct notions of the doctrines he taught, since, in his views of things, the power of imagination domineered evidently over the dictates of reason and common sense. But, if he really understood the religious maxims he was propagating, he certainly had not the talent of rendering them clear and perspicuous to others; for nothing can be more ambiguous and obscure than the expressions under which they are conveyed, and the arguments by which they are supported. A man must have the gift of divination, to be able to deduce a regular and consistent system of doctrine from the various productions of this incoherent and unintelligible writer, who was a chemist into the bargain, and whose brain seems to have been heated into a high degree of fermentation by the fire of the laboratory. If the rude, motley, and sarcastic writings of this wrong-headed reformer should reach posterity, it will be certainly a just matter of surprise to our descendants, that a considerable number of their ancestors should have been so blind as to choose, for a model of genuine piety and a teacher of religion, a man who had audaciously violated the first and most essential principles of solid piety and sound sense[q].

The inventions and reveries of Petersen.

XXXIV. The mild and gentle temper of John William Petersen, minister and first member of the ecclesiastical consistory of Lunenburg, distinguished him remarkably from the fiery enthusiast now mentioned. But the mildness of this good-natured eccle-

[q] His works were all published in 1747; and his memory is still highly honored and respected by many, who consider him as having been, in his day, an eminent teacher of true piety and wisdom. No kind of authors find such zealous readers and patrons as those who deal largely in invective, and swell themselves, by a vain self-sufficiency, into an imagined superiority over the rest of mankind. Besides, Dippelius was an excellent chemist, and a good physician; and this procured him many friends and admirers, as all men are fond of riches and long life, and these two sciences were supposed to lead to the one and the other.

siastic was accompanied with a want of resolution, that might be called weakness, and a certain floridness and warmth of imagination, which rendered him peculiarly susceptible of illusion himself, and a fit instrument to lead others innocently into error. Of this he gave a very remarkable specimen in 1691, by maintaining publicly that Rosamond Juliana, countess of Asseburg (whose disordered brain suggested to her the most romantic and chimerical notions) was honored with a vision of the Deity, and commissioned to make a new declaration of his will to mankind. He also revived and propagated openly the obsolete doctrine of the Millennium, which Rosamond had confirmed by her pretended authority from above. This first error produced many; for error is fertile, especially in those minds where imagination has spurned the yoke of reason, and considers all its airy visions as solid and important discoveries. Accordingly, Petersen went about prophesying with his wife [r], who also gave herself out for a kind of oracle, and boasted of her extensive knowlege of the secrets of heaven. They talked of a general restitution of all things; at which grand and solemn period all intelligent beings were to be restored to happiness, the gates of hell opened, and wicked men, together with evil spirits, delivered from the guilt, power, and punishment of sin. They supposed that two distinct natures, and both of them human, were united in Christ; one assumed in heaven before the formation of this globe, the other derived, upon earth, from the Virgin Mary. These opinions were swallowed down by many among the multitude, and were even embraced by some of superior rank; they met, however, with great opposition, and were refuted by a considerable number of authors, to whom Petersen, who was amply furnished with leisure and eloquence, wrote voluminous replies. In the year 1692, he was

[r] Her name was Johanna Eleonora à Merlau.

CENT. XVII. deposed; and, from that period, passed his days in the tranquillity of a rural retreat in the territory of Magdeburg, where he cheered his solitude by epistolary commerce, and spent the remainder of his life in composition and study [s].

Schade and Bosius.

XXXV. It is not easy to determine, whether John Caspar Schade and George Bosius may be associated properly with the persons now mentioned. They were both good men, full of zeal for the happiness and salvation of their brethren; but their zeal was neither directed by prudence, nor tempered with moderation. The former, who was minister at Berlin, propagated several notions that seemed crude and uncouth; and, in 1697, inveighed with the greatest bitterness against the custom that prevails in the Lutheran church of confessing privately to the clergy. These violent remonstrances excited great commotions, and were even attended with popular tumults. Bosius performed the pastoral functions at Soraw; and, to awaken sinners from their security, and prevent their treating, with negligence and indifference, interests that are most important by being eternal, denied that God would continue always propitious and placable with respect to those offenders, whose incorrigible obstinacy he had foreseen from all eternity; or that he would offer to them beyond a certain period, marked in his decrees, those succours of grace which are necessary to salvation. This tenet, in the judgement of many grave divines, seemed highly injurious to the boundless mercy of God, and was accordingly refuted and condemned in several treatises: it found, nevertheless, an eminent patron and defender in the learned Rechenberg, professor of

[s] Petersen wrote an account of his own life in German; his wife added her life to it, by way of supplement; and these pieces of biography will satisfy such as are desirous of a particular account of the character, manners, and talents of this extraordinary pair. For an account of the troubles they excited at Lunenburg, see Moller's Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 639; the Unschuldigen Nachrichten, An. 1748, p. 974; An. 1749, p. 30—200.

divinity at Leipsic, not to mention others of less note, who appeared in its behalf[t].

Contests concerning the omnipresence of Christ's flesh, between the doctors of Tubingen and Giessen.

XXXVI. Among the controversies of inferior moment that divided the Lutheran church, we shall first mention those that broke out between the doctors of Tubingen and Giessen so early as the year 1616. The principal part of this debate related to the abasement and humiliation, or to what divines call the *exinanition* of Jesus Christ; and the great point was to know in what this exinanition properly consisted, and what was the precise characteristic of this singular situation. That the man Christ possessed, even in the most dreadful periods of his abasement, the divine properties and attributes he had received in consequence of the hypostatic union, was unanimously agreed on by both parties; but they differed in their sentiments relating to this subtile and intricate question, whether Christ during his mediatorial sufferings and sacerdotal state, really suspended the exertion of these attributes, or only concealed this exertion from the view of mortals? The latter was maintained by the doctors of Tubingen, while those of Giessen were inclined to think, that the exertion of the divine attributes was really suspended in Christ during his humiliation and sufferings. This main question was followed by others, which were much more subtile than important, concerning the manner in which God is present with all his works, the reasons and foundation of this universal presence, the true cause of the omnipresence of Christ's body, and others of a like intricate and unintelligible nature. The champions who distinguished themselves on the side of the doctors of Tubingen were, Lucas Osiander, Melchior Nicolas, and Theodore Thummius. The most eminent of those who adopted the cause of the divines of Giessen were Balthasar Menzer and Justus Feverborn. The contest was

[t] See the first part of Walchius' Introductio ad Controversias, cap. iv.

carried on with zeal, learning, and sagacity: it is to be wished that one could add, that it was managed with wisdom, dignity, and moderation. This, indeed, was far from being the case; for such was the complexion of the age, that many things were now treated with indulgence, or beheld with approbation, which the wisdom and decency of succeeding times have justly endeavoured to discountenance and correct. In order to terminate these disagreeable contests, the Saxon divines were commanded, by their sovereign, to offer themselves as arbitrators between the contending parties in 1624: their arbitration was accepted; but it did not at all contribute to decide the matters in debate. Their decisions were vague and ambiguous, and were therefore not adapted to give satisfaction. They declared, that they could not fully or entirely approve the doctrine of either; but insinuated, at the same time, that a certain degree of preference was due to the opinions maintained by the doctors of Giessen [u]. Those of Tubingen rejected the decision of the Saxon arbitrators; and it is very probable, that the divines of Giessen would have appealed from it also, had not the public calamities, in which Germany began to be involved at this time, suspended this miserable contest, by imposing silence upon the disputants, and leaving them in the quiet possession of their respective opinions.

The controversy occasioned by the writings of Rathman.

XXXVII. Before the cessation of the controversy now mentioned, a new one was occasioned, in 1621, by the writings of Herman Rathman, minister at Dantzic, a man of eminent piety, some learning, and a zealous patron and admirer of Arndt's famous book concerning true Christianity. This good man was suspected by his colleague Corvinus, and several others, of entertaining sentiments derogatory from

[u] Jo. Wolf. Jäger, Histor. Eccles. et Polit. sæc. xvii. decenn. iii. p. 329.—Christ. Eberh. Weisman, Histor. Ecclesiast. sæc. xvii. p. 1178.—Walchius, p. 206.—See also Carolus, Arnold, and the other writers, who have written the ecclesiastical history of these times.

the dignity and power of the sacred writings. These suspicions they derived from a book published by him in 1621, concerning Christ's Kingdom of Grace, which, according to the representations of his adversaries, contained the following doctrine: "That the "word of God, as it stands in the sacred writings, "has no innate power to illuminate the mind, to "excite in it a principle of regeneration, and thus to "turn it to God: that the external word shews, "indeed, the way to salvation, but cannot effectu-"ally lead men to it; but that God himself, by the "ministry of another, and an internal word, works "such a change in the minds of men, as is necessary "to render them agreeable in his sight, and enables "them to please him by their words and actions." This doctrine was represented by Corvinus and his associates as the same which had been formerly maintained by Schwenckfeld, and was professed by the Mystics in general. But whoever will be at the pains to examine with attention the various writings of Rathman on this subject, must soon be convinced, that his adversaries either misunderstood his true sentiments, or wilfully misrepresented them. His real doctrine may be comprised in the four following points: "first, that the divine word, contained in "Scripture, is endowed with the power of healing "the minds of men, and bringing them to God; but "that, secondly, it cannot exert this power in the "minds of corrupt men, who resist its divine operation "and influence; and that in consequence, thirdly, it is "absolutely necessary, that the word be preceded or "accompanied by some divine energy, which may "prepare the minds of sinners to receive it, and "remove those impediments that oppose its efficacy; "and fourthly, that it is by the power of the holy "spirit, or internal word, that the external word is "rendered capable of exerting its efficacy in en-"lightening and sanctifying the minds of men[w]."

[w] See Moller's Cimbria Literata, tom. iii. p. 559.—Hartknoch's German work, entitled, Preussische Kirchen-Geschichte, book iii. ch. viii. p. 812. Arnold's Kirchen Historie, part iii. ch. xii.

CENT. XVII. There is, indeed, some difference between these opinions and the doctrine commonly received in the Lutheran church, relating to the efficacy of the divine word; but a careful perusal of the writings of Rathman on this subject, and a candid examination of his inaccurate expressions, will persuade the impartial reader, that this difference is neither great nor important; and he will only perceive, that this pious man had not the talent of expressing his notions with order, perspicuity, and precision. However that may have been, this contest grew more general from day to day, and, at length, extended its polemic influence through the whole Lutheran church, the greatest part of whose members followed the example of the Saxon doctors in condemning Rathman, while a considerable number, dazzled by the lustre of his piety, and persuaded of the innocence of his doctrine, espoused his cause. He died in 1628, when this controversy was at the greatest height, and the warmth and animosity of the contending parties gradually subsided.

Private controversies.

XXXVIII. It would be repugnant to the true end of history, as well as to all principles of candor and equity, to swell this enumeration of the controversies that divided the Lutheran church, with the private disputes of individuals concerning particular points of doctrine and worship. Some writers have, indeed, followed this method, not so much with a design to enrich their histories with a multitude of facts, and to shew men and opinions in all their various aspects, as with a view to render the Lutherans ridiculous or odious. In the happiest times, and in the best-modelled communities, there will always remain sufficient marks of human imperfection, and abundant sources of private contention, at least, in the imprudence, inadvertency, and misconceptions of some, and the impatience and severity of others; but it must betray a great want of sound judgement, as well as of candor and impartiality, to form a general estimate of the state and character of a whole church upon such particular instances of imperfection and

error. Certain singular opinions and modes of expression were censured by many in the writings of Tarnovius and Affelman, two divines of Rostoch, who were otherwise men of distinguished merit. This, however, will surprise us less if we consider, that these doctors often expressed themselves improperly, when their sentiments were just; and that, when their expressions were accurate and proper, they were frequently misunderstood by those who pretended to censure them. Joachim Lutkeman, whose reputation was considerable, and, in many respects, well deserved, conceived the idea of denying that Christ remained *a true man* during the three days that intervened from his death to his resurrection. This sentiment appeared highly erroneous to many; and hence arose a contest, which was merely a dispute about words, resembling many other debates, which, like bubbles, are incessantly swelling and vanishing on the surface of human life. Of this kind, more especially, was the controversy which, for some time, exercised the talents of Boetius and Balduin, professors of divinity (the former at Helmstadt, and the latter at Wittenberg), and had for its subject the following question, whether the wicked shall one day be restored to life by the merits of Christ? In the duchy of Holstein, Reinboth distinguished himself by the singularity of his opinions. After the example of Calixtus, he reduced the fundamental doctrines of religion within narrower bounds than were usually prescribed to them; he also considered the opinion of those Greeks, who denied that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, as an error of very little consequence. In both these respects, his sentiments were adopted by many; they, however, met with opposition from several quarters, and were censured with peculiar warmth by the learned John Conrad Danhaver, professor of divinity at Strasbourg: in consequence of this, a kind of controversy was kindled between these eminent men, and was carried on with more vehemence than the nature and im-

CENT. XVII. portance of the debated points could justify[x]. But these and other contests of this nature, must not be admitted into that list of controversies, from which we are to form a judgement of the internal state of the Lutheran church during this century.

The debates relating to Prætorius and Arndt.

XXXIX. We cannot make the same observation with regard to certain controversies, which were of a personal rather than a real nature, and related to the orthodoxy or unsoundness of certain men, rather than to the truth or falsehood of particular opinions; for these are more particularly connected with the internal state and history of the church, than the contests last mentioned. It is not unusual for those who professedly embark in the cause of declining piety, and aim, in a solemn, zealous, and public manner, at its revival and restoration, to be elated with high and towering views, and warmed with a certain enthusiastic, though noble fervor. This ardent elevation of mind is by no means a source of accuracy and precision; on the contrary, it produces many unguarded expressions, and prevents men of warm piety from framing their language by those rules which are necessary to render it clear, accurate, and proper; it frequently dictates expressions and phrases that are pompous and emphatic, but, at the same time, allegorical and ambiguous; and leads pious and even sensible men to adopt uncouth and vulgar forms of speech, employed by writers whose style is as low and barbarous as their intentions are upright and pious, and whose practical treatises on religion and morality have nothing to recommend them but the zeal and fervor with which they are penned. Persons of this warm and enthusiastic turn fall with more facility than any other set of men into the suspicion of heresy, on account of the inaccuracy of their expressions.

[x] For a general account of these controversies, see Arnold's Kirchen Hist. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 957. That which was occasioned by Reinboth is amply and circumstantially related by Moller, in the second part of his Introductio ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ, and in his Cimbria Literata, tom. ii.

This many doctors found to be true, by a disagreeable experience, during the course of this century; but it was, in a more particular manner, the fate of Stephen Prætorius, minister of Saltzwedel, and of John Arndt, whose piety and virtue have rendered his memory precious to the friends of true religion. Prætorius had, so early as the preceding century, composed certain treatises, designed to revive a spirit of vital religion, and awaken in the minds of men a zeal for their future and eternal interests. These productions, which were frequently republished during this century, were highly applauded by many, while, in the judgement of others, they abounded with expressions and sentiments, that were partly false, and partly adapted by their ambiguity to lead men into error. It cannot be denied, that there are in the writings of Prætorius some improper and unguarded expressions, which may too easily deceive the ignorant and unwary, as also several marks of a credulity that borders upon weakness; but those who peruse his works with impartiality will be fully persuaded of the uprightness of his intentions.

The unfeigned piety and integrity of Arndt could not secure him from censure. His famous book concerning true Christianity, which is still perused with the utmost pleasure and edification by many persons eminent for the sanctity of their lives and manners, met with a warm and obstinate opposition. Osiander, Rostius, and other doctors, inveighed against it with great asperity, pretended to find in it various defects, and alleged, among other things, that its style was infected with the jargon of the Paracelsists, Weigelians, and other Mystico-chemical philosophers. It must, indeed, be acknowleged, that this eminent man was highly disgusted at the philosophy that, in his time, reigned in the schools; nor can it be denied, that he had a high, perhaps an excessive degree of respect for the chemists, and an ill-placed confidence in their obscure decisions and pompous undertakings. This led him sometimes into conversation with those

fantastic philosophers, who, by the power and ministry of fire, pretended to unfold both the secrets of nature and the mysteries of religion. But, notwithstanding this, he was declared exempt from any errors of moment by a multitude of grave and pious divines, among whom were Egard, Dilger, Breler, Gerard, and Dorschæus; and in the issue the censures and opposition of his adversaries seemed rather to give a new lustre to his reputation than to cover him with reproach [y].

We may place, in the class now under consideration, Valentine Weigel, a minister of the church of Zscopavia in Misnia; for, though he died in the preceding century, yet it was in this that the greatest part of his writings were published, and also censured as erroneous and of a dangerous tendency. The science of chemistry, which at this time was making such a rapid progress in Germany, proved also detrimental to this ecclesiastic; who, though in the main a man of probity and merit, neglected the paths of right reason, and chose rather to wander in the devious wilds of a chimerical philosophy [z].

Jacob Bohmius or Behmen.

XL. There were a set of fanatics among the Lutherans, who in the flights of their enthusiasm far surpassed those now mentioned, and who had such a high notion of their own abilities as to attempt melting down the present form of religion, and casting a new system of piety after a model drawn from their wanton and irregular fancies; it is with some account of the principal of these spiritual projectors that we shall conclude the history of the Lutheran church during this century.

At the head of this visionary tribe we may place Jacob Behmen, a taylor at Gorlitz, who was remarkable for the multitude of his patrons and adversaries,

[y] See Arnoldi Hist. Eccles. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. vi. p. 940.—Weismanni Histor. Eccles. sæc. xvii. p. 1174, 1189.—Godof. Balth. Scharfii Supplementum Historiæ Litisque Arndtianæ.

[z] There is an account of Weigel, more ample than impartial, given by Arnold, lib. xvii. cap. xvii. p. 1088.

and whom his admirers commonly called the German Theosophist. This man had a natural propensity toward the investigation of mysteries, and was fond of abstruse and intricate inquiries of every kind; and having, partly by books, and partly by conversation with certain physicians[a], acquired some knowlege of the doctrine of Robert Fludd and the Rosecrusians, which was propagated in Germany with great ostentation during this century, he struck out of the element of fire, by the succours of imagination, a species of theology much more obscure than the numbers of Pythagoras, or the intricacies of Heraclitus. Some have bestowed high praises on this enthusiast, on account of his piety, integrity, and sincere love of truth and virtue; and we shall not presume to contradict these encomiums. But such as carry their admiration of his doctrine so far as to honor him with the character of an inspired messenger of Heaven, or even of a judicious and wise philosopher, must be themselves deceived and blinded in a very high degree; for never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal, as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a motley mixture of chemical terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notion: "That the divine grace operates by "the same rules, and follows the same methods, "which the divine providence observes in the natural "world, and that the minds of men are purged from "their vices and corruptions in the same way that "metals are purified from their dross;" and this maxim was the principle of his fire-theology. Behmen had a considerable number of followers in this century, the most eminent of whom were John Louis Giftheil, John Angelus Werdenhagen, Abraham Frankenberg, Theodore Tzetsch, Paul Felgenhauer, Quirinus Kuhlman, John Jacob Zimmermann; and he has still many votaries and admirers even in our

[a] Tobias Kober and Balthasar Walther.

CENT. XVII. times. Some of his followers retained, notwithstanding their attachment to his extravagant system, a certain degree of moderation and good sense, while others seemed entirely out of their wits, and by their phrensy excited the compassion of those who were the spectators of their conduct; such were Kuhlman and Gichtel, of whom the former was burned at Moscow in 1684; but, indeed, it may be affirmed in general, that none of his disciples propagated his doctrine, or conducted themselves, in such a manner as to do honor either to their master or to his cause in the judgement of the wise [b].

The prophets of this age.

XLI. Another class of persons, who deserve to be placed immediately after Behmen, were they, whom a disordered brain persuaded that they were prophets sent from above, and that they were divinely inspired with the power of prediction. A considerable number of these delirious fanatics arose in this century, more especially at that juncture when the house of Austria was employed in maintaining its power in the empire, against the united armies of Sweden, France, and Germany. It is remarkable, that pretended prophets and diviners are never more numerous than at those critical and striking periods when great revolutions are expected, or sudden and heavy calamities have happened, as such periods, and the scenes they

[b] It is needless to mention the writers who employed their pens in stemming the torrent of Behmen's enthusiasm. The works of this fanatic are in every body's hands, and the books that were composed to refute them are well known, and to be found every where. All that has been alleged, in his favor and defence, has been carefully collected by Arnold, who is, generally speaking, peculiarly eloquent in the praises of those whom others treat with contempt. For an account of Kuhlman, and his unhappy fate, see the German work, entitled, Unschuld. Nachrichten, An. 1748.

☞ Behmen, however, had the good fortune to meet with, in our days, a warm advocate and an industrious disciple in the late well-meaning but gloomy and visionary Mr. William Law, who employed himself, for many years, in preparing a new edition and translation of Behmen's works, which, after his death, a friend gave to the world.

exhibit, inflame the imagination of the fanatic, and may be turned to the profit of the impostor. The most eminent of the fanatical prophets now under consideration, were Nicolas Drabicius, Christopher Kotter, Christina Poniatovia (all of whom found an eloquent defender and patron in John Amos Comenius), Joachim Greulich, Anne Vetter, Mary Frólich, and George Reichard; beside several others, who audaciously assumed the same character. It is not necessary to enter into a circumstantial detail of the history of this visionary tribe, since none of them arose to such a degree of reputation and consequence, as to occasion any considerable tumults by their pretended predictions. It is sufficient to have observed in general, that, even in this century, there were among the Lutherans some crazy fanatics, who, under the impulse of a disordered imagination, assumed the character and authority of prophets sent from above to enlighten the world[c].

Ezekiel Meth, Isaiah Stiefel, Paul Nagel.

XLII. It will not, however, be improper to mention, somewhat more circumstantially, the case of those, who, though they did not arrive at that enormous height of folly which leads men to pretend to divine inspiration, yet deceived themselves and deluded others, by entertaining and propagating the strangest fancies, and the most monstrous and impious absurdities. Some time after the commencement of this century, Isaiah Stiefel and Ezekiel Meth, natives of Thuringia, were observed to throw out the most

[c] Arnold is to be commended for giving us an accurate collection of the transactions and visions of these enthusiasts, in the third and fourth parts of his History of Heretics, since those who are desirous of full information in this matter may easily see, by consulting this historian, that the pretended revelations of these prophets were no more than the phantoms of a disordered imagination. A pious but ignorant man, named Benedict Bahnsen, who was a native of Holstein, and lived at Amsterdam about the middle of the seventeenth century, was so delighted with the effusions and writings of these fanatics, that he collected them carefully, and published them. In 1670, a catalogue of his library was printed at Amsterdam, which was full of chemical, fanatical, and pretendedly-prophetic books.

CENT. XVII. extraordinary and shocking expressions, while they spoke of themselves and their religious attainments. These expressions, in the judgement of many, amounted to nothing less, than attributing to themselves the divine glory and majesty, and thus implied a blasphemous, or rather a phrenetic, insult on the Supreme Being and his eternal Son. It is nevertheless scarcely credible, however irrational we may suppose them to have been, that these fanatics should have carried their perverse and absurd fancies to such an amazing height; and it would perhaps be more agreeable both to truth and charity to suppose, that they only imitated the pompous and turgid language of the mystic writers in such an extravagant manner, as to give occasion to the heavy accusation above stated. Considering the matter even in this candid and charitable light, we may see by their examples what an effect the constant perusal of the writings of the Mystics may have in shedding darkness, delusion, and folly, into the imaginations of weak and ignorant men[d]. The reveries of Paul Nagel, professor of divinity at Leipsic, were highly absurd, but of a less pernicious tendency than those already mentioned. This prophetic dreamer, who had received a superficial tincture of mathematical knowlege, pretended to see, in the position of the stars, the events that were to happen in church and state; and, from a view of these celestial bodies, affected to foretell, in a more particular manner, the erection of a new and most holy kingdom in which Christ should reign here upon earth[e].

Christian Hoburg, Frederic Breckling, Seidenbecher.

XLIII. Christian Hoburg, a native of Lunenburg, a man of a turbulent and inconstant spirit, and not more remarkable for his violence, than for his duplicity, threw out the most bitter reproaches and invec-

[d] See Arnold's Historia Eccles. p. iii. cap. iv. p. 32.—Thomasius' German work, entitled, Historie der Weisheit und Narrheit, vol. i.

[e] Arnold, p. iii. cap. v. p. 53.—Andr. Caroli Memorabilia Ecclesiæ, sæc. xvii. in parte i. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 513.

tives against the whole Lutheran church without exception [f], and thereby involved himself in various perplexities. He long deceived the multitude by his dissimulation and hypocrisy; and, by a series of frauds, which he undoubtedly looked upon as lawful, he so far disguised his true character that he appeared to many, and especially to persons of a candid and charitable turn, much less contemptible than he was in reality; and though the acrimony and violence of his proceedings were condemned, yet they were supposed to be directed, not against religion itself, but against the licentiousness and vices of its professors, and particularly of its ministers. At length, however, the mask fell from the face of this hypocrite, who became an object of general indignation and contempt, and, deserting the communion of the Lutheran church, went over to the Mennonites [g]. There was a striking resemblance between this petulant railer and Frederic Breckling; the latter, however, surpassed even the former in impetuosity and malignity. Breckling had been pastor, first in the duchy of Holstein, and afterwards at Zwoll, a city in the United Provinces, where he was deposed from his ministry, and lived many years afterward without being attached to any religious sect or community. There are several of his writings extant, which, indeed, recommend warmly the practice of piety and virtue, and seem to express the most implacable abhorrence of vicious persons and licentious manners; and yet, at the same time, they demonstrate plainly that their author was destitute of that charity, prudence, meekness, patience, and love of truth, which are essential and fundamental virtues of a real

[f] Hoburg, in some of his petulant and satirical writings, assumed the names of Elias Prætorius and Bernard Baumann.

[g] Arnold, p. iii. cap. xiii. p. 130.—Andr. Caroli Mem. Eccles. vol. i. p. 1065.—Jo. Hornbeck's Summa Controvers. p. 535.—Moller's Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 337.

CENT. XVII. Christian[h]. It is undoubtedly a just matter of surprise, that these vehement declaimers against the established religion and its ministers, who pretend to be so much more sagacious and sharp-sighted than their brethren, do not perceive a truth, which the most simple may learn from daily observation; even that nothing is more odious and disgusting than an angry, petulant, and violent reformer, who comes to heal the disorders of a community, armed as it were with fire and sword, with menaces and terrors. We may also wonder, that these men are not aware of another consideration equally obvious, namely, that it is scarcely credible, that a *spiritual* physician will cure another with entire success of the disorders under which he himself is known to labor.

George Laurence Seidenbecher, pastor at Eisfeld in Saxony, adopted himself, and propagated among the multitude, the doctrine of the Millennium, which scarcely ever gains admittance but in disordered brains, and rarely produces any other fruits than incoherent dreams and idle visions. Seidenbecher was censured on account of this doctrine, and deposed from his pastoral charge[i].

Martin Seidel.

XLIV. It would be superfluous to name the other fanatics that seem to demand a place in the class now before us, since they almost all labored under the same disorder, and such uniformity prevailed in their sentiments and conduct, that the history of one may in a great measure be considered as the history of all. We shall therefore conclude this crazy list with a short account of the very worst of the whole tribe, namely, Martin Seidel, a native of Silesia, who en-

[h] Arnold has given an account of Breckling, in the third and fourth parts of his History; he has also published some of his writings, which sufficiently demonstrate the irregularity and exuberance of his fancy. There is a particular account of this degraded pastor given in the Cimbria Literata, tom. iii. p. 72.

[i] There is a circumstantial account of this man given by Alb. Meno Verpoorten, in his Commentat. de Vitâ et Institutis G. L. Seidenbecheri.

deavoured to form a sect in Poland toward the conclusion of the preceding century and the commencement of this, but could not find followers, even among the Socinians; so wild were his views, and so extravagant his notions. This audacious adventurer in religious novelty was of opinion, that God had, indeed, promised a Saviour or Messiah to the Jews; but that this Messiah had never appeared, and never would appear, on account of the sins of the Jewish people, which rendered them unworthy of this great deliverer. Hence he concluded, that it was erroneous to look upon Christ as the Messiah; that the only office of Jesus was, to interpret and republish the law of nature, which had been perverted and obscured by the vices, corruptions, and ignorance of men; and that the whole duty of men, and all the obligations of religion, were fulfilled by an obedience to this law, republished and explained by Jesus Christ. To render this doctrine more defensible and specious, or, at least, to get rid of a multitude of arguments and express declarations that might be drawn from the Scriptures to prove its absurdity, he boldly rejected all the books of the New Testament. The small number of disciples, that adopted the fancies of this intrepid innovator, were denominated *semi-judaizers*[k]. Had he appeared in our times, he would have given less offence than at the period in which he lived; for, if we except his singular notion concerning the Messiah, his doctrine was such as would at present be highly agreeable to many persons in Great-Britain, Holland, and other countries[l].

[k] See Gustavi Georgii Zeltneri Historia Cryptô-Socinismi Altorffini, vol. i. p. 268, 335.

☞ [l] We are much at a loss to know what Dr. Mosheim means by this insinuation, as also the persons he has in view; for, on one hand, it is sufficiently evident that he cannot mean the deists; and, on the other, we know of no dénomination of Christians, who 'boldly reject all the books of the New Testament.' Our author probably meant that the part of Seidel's doctrine which represents Christ's mission as only designed to

CHAPTER II.

The History of the Reformed Church.

CENT. XVII.

The limits of the Reformed church extended.

I. It has been already observed, that the Reformed Church, considered in the most comprehensive sense of that term, as forming a *whole*, composed of a great variety of parts, is rather united by the principles of moderation and fraternal charity, than by a perfect uniformity in doctrine, discipline, and worship. It will, therefore, be proper first to take a view of those events which related to this great body collectively considered, and afterwards to enter into a detail of the most memorable occurrences that happened in the particular communities of which it is composed. The principal accessions it received during this century have already been mentioned, when, in the history of the Lutheran church, we related the changes and commotions that happened in the principalities of Hesse-Cassel and Brandenburg [m]. These, however, were not the only changes that took place in favor of the reformed church. Its doctrine was embraced, early in this century, by Adolphus, duke of Holstein; and it was naturally expected, that the subjects would follow the example of their prince; but this expectation was disappointed by the death of Adolphus, in 1616 [n]. Henry, duke of Saxony,

republish and interpret the law of nature, and the whole religious and moral duty of man, as consisting in an obedience to this law, would have been well received by many persons in Great-Britain and Holland; but he should have said so; nothing requires such precision as accusations.

[m] See section ii. part ii. chap. i. sect. i. ii. where the History of the Lutheran Church commences with an account of the loss which that church sustained by the secession of Maurice, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, who embraced solemnly the doctrine of the reformed church, the former in 1604, and the latter in 1614.

[n] Jo. Molleri Introd. ad Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ, p. ii. p. 101.—Erici Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. iii. p. 691.

withdrew also from the communion of the Lutherans, in whose religious principles he had been educated, and, in 1688, embraced the doctrine of the reformed church at Dessau, in consequence, as some allege, of the solicitations of his duchess [o]. In Denmark, about the beginning of this century, there were still a considerable number of persons who secretly espoused the sentiments of that church, and more especially could never reconcile themselves to the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's bodily presence with the sacrament of the eucharist. They were confirmed in their attachment to the tenets of the reformed by Hemming, and the other followers of Melanchthon, whose secret ministry and public writings were attended with considerable success. The face of things, however, changed; and the reformed in Denmark saw their expectations vanish, and their credit sink, in 1614, when Canute, bishop of Gothenburg, who had given too plain intimations of his propensity to the doctrines of Calvin, was deprived of his episcopal dignity [p]. The progress of the reformed religion in Africa, Asia, and America, is abundantly known; it was carried into those distant regions by the English and Dutch emigrants, who formed settlements there for the purposes of commerce, and founded flourishing churches in the various provinces where they fixed their habitations. It is also known, that, in several places where Lutheranism was established, the French, German, and British members of the reformed church were allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

[o] See Moebii Selectæ Disp. Theolog. p. 1137. The duke of Saxony published a Confession of his Faith, containing the reasons of his change. This piece, which the divines of Leipsic were obliged by a public order to refute, was defended against their attacks by the learned Isaac de Beausobre, at that time pastor at Magdeburg, in a book entitled, "Defense de la Doctrine des Reformés, et en particulier de la Confession de S. A. S. Mon-Seigneur le Duc Henri de Saxe, contre un Livre composé par la Faculté de Theologie à Leipsic."

[p] Pontoppidani Annal. Eccles. Danicæ, tom. iii. p. 695.

CENT. XVII.

The decline of the Reformed church in France.

II. Of all the calamities that tended to diminish the influence, and eclipse the lustre, of the reformed church, none proved more dismal in its circumstances, and more unhappy in its effects, than the deplorable fate of that church in France. From the time of the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of that kingdom, this church had acquired the form of a body-politic[q]. Its members were endowed with considerable privileges; they were also secured against insults of every kind by a solemn edict, and possessed several fortified places, particularly the strong city of Rochelle; in which, to render their security still more complete, they were permitted to have their own garrisons. This body-politic was not, indeed, always under the influence and direction of leaders eminent for their prudence, or distinguished by their permanent attachment to the interests of the crown, and the person of the sovereign. Truth and candor oblige us to acknowlege, that the Reformed conducted themselves, on some occasions, in a manner inconsistent with the demands of a regular subordination. Sometimes, amidst the broils and tumults of faction, they joined the parties that opposed the government; at others, they took important steps without the king's approbation or consent; they even went so far as to solicit, more than once, without so much as disguising their measures, the alliance and friendship of England and Holland, and formed views which, at least in appearance, were scarcely consistent with the tranquillity of the kingdom, or with a proper respect for the authority of its monarch. Hence contests arose in 1621, and subsisted long, between Louis XIII. and his protestant subjects; and these civil broils furnished a pretence for the severe and despotic maxim of Richelieu, the first minister of that monarch, that the kingdom could never enjoy the sweets of peace, or the satisfaction that was founded upon the assurance of public safety, before

[q] *Imperium in imperio*, i. e. an empire within an empire.

the protestants were deprived of their towns and strong-holds, and before their rights and privileges, together with their ecclesiastical polity, were crushed to pieces, and totally suppressed. This haughty minister, after many violent efforts and hard struggles, at length obtained his purpose; for, in 1628, Rochelle, the chief bulwark of the reformed interest in France, was taken, after a long and difficult siege, and annexed to the crown. From this fatal event the party, defenceless and naked, dated its decline; since, after the reduction of their chief city, these protestants had no other resource than the pure clemency and generosity of their sovereign [r]. Those who judge of the reduction of this place by the maxims of civil policy, consider the conduct of the French court as entirely consistent with the principles both of wisdom and justice; since nothing can be more detrimental to the tranquillity and safety of any nation, than a body politic erected in its bosom, independent of the supreme authority of the state, and secured against its influence or inspection by an external force; and if the French monarch, satisfied with depriving the Protestants of their strong-holds, had continued to maintain them in the possession of that liberty of conscience, and that free exercise of their religion, for which they had shed so much blood, and to the enjoyment of which their eminent services to the house of Bourbon had given them such a fair and illustrious claim, it is highly probable that they would have borne with patience this infraction of their privileges, and the loss of that liberty which had been confirmed to them by the most solemn edicts.

The injurious and tyrannical treatment it receives from the French court.

III. But the court and the despotic minister were not satisfied with this success. Having destroyed that form of civil polity which had been annexed to

[r] See Le Clerc, Vie du Cardinal Richelieu, tom. i. p. 69, 77, 177, 199, 269.—Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 676, tom. iv. p. 1, and the following volumes. See also the third, fourth, and fifth volumes of the Memoirs of Sully (the friend and confident of Henry IV.) who, though a protestant, acknowleges frankly the errors of his party.

CENT. XVII. the reformed church as a security for the maintenance of its religious privileges, and was afterwards considered as detrimental to the supreme authority of the state, they proceeded still farther, and, regardless of the royal faith, confirmed by the most solemn declarations, perfidiously invaded those privileges of the church which were merely of a spiritual and religious nature. At first, the court, and the ministers of its tyranny, put in practice all the arts of insinuation and persuasion, in order to gain over the heads of the reformed church, and the more learned and celebrated ministers of that communion. Pathetic exhortations and alluring promises were tried; artful interpretations of those doctrines of popery which were most disagreeable to the Protestants were brought forward; in a word, every insidious method was employed to conquer their aversion to the church of Rome. Richelieu exhausted all the resources of his dexterity and artifice, and eagerly practised, with the most industrious assiduity, all the means that he thought the most adapted to seduce the protestants into the Romish communion. When all these stratagems were observed to produce little or no effect, barbarity and violence were employed to extirpate and destroy a set of men, whom mean perfidy could not seduce, and whom weak arguments were insufficient to convince. The most inhuman laws that the blind rage of bigotry could dictate, the most oppressive measures that the ingenious efforts of malice could invent, were put in execution to damp the courage of a party become odious by their resolute adherence to the dictates of their consciences, and to bring them by force under the yoke of Rome. The French bishops distinguished themselves by their intemperate and unchristian zeal in this horrid scene of persecution and cruelty: many of the protestants sunk under the weight of despotic oppression, and yielded up their faith to armed legions, that were sent to convert them; a considerable number fled from the storm, and deserted their families, their

friends, and their country; and the greatest part persevered, with a noble and heroic constancy, in the purity of that religion, which their ancestors had delivered, and happily separated, from the manifold superstitions of a corrupt and idolatrous church.

The edict of Nantes revoked.

IV. When at length every method which artifice or perfidy could invent had been practised in vain against the protestants under the reign of Louis XIV., the bishops and Jesuits, whose counsels had a peculiar influence in the cabinet of that prince, judged it necessary to extirpate, by fire and sword, this resolute people, and thus to ruin, as it were by one mortal blow, the cause of the Reformation in France. Their insidious arguments and importunate solicitations had such an effect upon the weak and credulous mind of Louis, that, in 1685, trampling on the most solemn obligations, and regardless of all laws, human and divine, he revoked the edict of Nantes, and thereby deprived the protestants of the liberty of serving God according to their consciences. This revocation was accompanied with the applause of Rome; but it excited the indignation even of many Roman catholics, whose bigotry had not effaced or suspended, on this occasion, their natural sentiments of generosity and justice. It was, moreover, followed by a measure still more tyrannical and shocking, even an express order, addressed to all the reformed churches, to embrace the Romish faith. The consequences of this cruel and unrighteous proceeding were highly detrimental to the true interests and the real prosperity of the French nation [s], by the prodi-

[s] See the Life of Isaac de Beausobre, written by the ingenious Armand de la Chapelle, and subjoined to Beausobre's Remarques Historiques, Critiques, et Philologiques sur le Nouveau Testament.

☞ Some late hireling writers, employed by the Jesuits, have been audacious enough to plead the cause of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. But it must be observed, to the honor of the French nation, that these impotent attempts, to justify the measures of a persecuting and unrelenting priesthood, have been treated almost universally at Paris with indignation and contempt. They who are desirous of seeing a true statement of the

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gious emigrations it occasioned among the Protestants, who sought, in various parts of Europe, that religious liberty, and that humane treatment, which their mother-country had so cruelly refused them. Those among them, whom the vigilance of their enemies guarded so closely as to prevent their flight, were exposed to the brutal rage of an unrelenting soldiery, and were assailed by every barbarous form of persecution that might tend to subdue their courage, exhaust their patience, and thus engage them to a feigned and external profession of popery, which in their consciences they beheld with the utmost aversion and disgust. This crying act of perfidy and injustice in a prince, who, on other occasions, gave evident proofs of his generosity and equity, is sufficient to shew, in their true and genuine colors, the spirit of the Romish church and pontiffs, and the manner in which they stand affected to those whom they consider as *heretics*. It is peculiarly adapted to convince the impartial and attentive observer, that the most solemn oaths, and the most sacred treaties, are never looked upon by this church and its pontiffs as respectable and obligatory, when the violation of them may contribute to advance their interest, or to accomplish their views.

The sufferings of the Waldenses, and protestants of the Palatinate.

V. The Waldenses, who lived in the valleys of Piedmont, and had embraced the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of Geneva, were oppressed and persecuted, in the most inhuman manner, during

losses the French nation sustained, by the revocation of that famous edict, have only to consult the curious and authentic account of the state of that nation, taken from memorials drawn up by the intendants of the several provinces, for the use of the duke of Burgundy, and published in 1727 with the following title: 'Etat de la France, extrait, par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, des Memoires dressées par les Intendans du Royaume, par l'Ordre du Roi Louis XIV. à la Solicitation du Duc de Bourgogne.' See also Voltaire, Sur la Tolerance, p. 41 and 201; and, for an account of the conduct of the French court toward the Protestants at that dismal period, see the incomparable memorial of the learned and pious Claude, entitled, Plaintes des Protestans de France.

the greatest part of this century, by the ministers of Rome. This persecution was carried on with peculiar marks of rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1686, and 1696, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total extinction of that unhappy nation [t]. The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited on this theatre of papal tyranny; and the small numbers of the Waldenses that yet survive, are indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it is, to the continual intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who never cease to solicit the clemency of the duke of Savoy in their behalf.

The church of the Palatinate, which had been long at the head of the Reformed churches in Germany, declined apace from the year 1685, when a catholic prince was raised to that electorate. This decline became at length so visible, that, instead of being the first, it was the least considerable of all the Protestant assemblies in that country.

The state of letters and philosophy in the Reformed church.

VI. The eminent and illustrious figure that the principal members of the reformed church made in the learned world is too well known, and the reputation they acquired, by a successful application to the various branches of literature and science, is too well established, to require our entering into a circumstantial detail upon that head. We shall also pass in silence the names of those celebrated men who have acquired immortal fame by their writings, and transmitted their eminent usefulness to succeeding times

[t] Leger, Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises, p. ii. c. vi. p. 72.—Gilles, Histoire Ecclesiast. des Eglises Vaudoises, ch. xlix. p. 353.—A particular history of the persecution suffered by these victims of papal cruelty in 1686, appeared at Rotterdam in 1688.

☞ See also a pamphlet, entitled, An Account of the late Persecutions of the Waldenses by the duke of Savoy and the French king in 1686; and likewise a detail of the miseries endured by these unfortunate objects of papal persecution in the years 1655, 1662, 1663, and 1686, related by Peter Boyer, in his history of the Vaudois.

CENT. XVII. in their learned and pious productions. Out of the copious list of famous authors that adorned this church, it would be difficult to select the most eminent; and this is a sufficient reason for our silence [u]. The supreme guide and legislator of such as applied themselves to the study of philosophy had been Aristotle, who, for a long time, reigned unrivaled in the reformed, as well as in the Lutheran schools, and was exhibited, in both, not in his natural and genuine aspect, but in the motley and uncouth form in which he had been dressed up by the scholastic doctors. But, when Gassendi and Des-Cartes appeared, the Stagirite began to decline, and his fame and authority diminished gradually. Among the French and Dutch, many adopted the Cartesian philosophy on its first promulgation; and a considerable number of the English embraced the principles of Gassendi, and were singularly pleased with his prudent and candid manner of investigating truth. The Aristotelians every where, and more especially in Holland, were greatly alarmed at this revolution in the philosophical world, and set themselves, with all their vigor, to oppose its progress. They endeavoured to persuade the people, that the

☞ [u] The list of the eminent divines and men of learning who were ornaments to the Reformed church in the seventeenth century, is indeed extremely ample. Among those who adorned Great Britain, we shall always remember, with peculiar veneration, the immortal names of Newton, Barrow, Cudworth, Boyle, Chillingworth, Usher, Bedell, Hall, Pocock, Fell, Lightfoot, Hammond, Calamy, Walton, Baxter, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Mede, Parker, Oughtred, Burnet, Tillotson, and many others well known in the literary world. In Germany we find Pareus, Scultet, Fabricius, the two Altings, Pelargus, and Bergius; in Switzerland and Geneva, Hospinian, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heidegger, and Turretin. In the churches and universities of Holland, we meet with the following learned divines: Drusus, Amama, Gomar, Rivet, Cloppenburg, Vossius, Cocceius, Voet, Des-Marets, Heidan, Momma, Burman, Wittichius, Hornbeck, the Spanheims, Le Moine, De Maestricht, and others. Among the French doctors, we may reckon Cameron, Chamier, Du-Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daillé, Amyrault, the two Capels, De la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pajon, Bochart, Claude, Allix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausobre, L'Enfant, Martin, Des-Vignoles, &c.

cause of truth and religion must suffer considerably by the efforts that were made to dethrone Aristotle, and bring into disrepute the doctrine of his interpreters; but the principal cause of their anxiety and zeal, was the apprehension of losing their places in the public schools; a thought which they could not bear with any degree of patience[w]. However, the powerful lustre of truth, which unfolded daily more and more its engaging charms, and the love of liberty, which had been kept in chains by Peripatetic tyranny, obliged this obstinate sect to yield, and reduced them to silence; and hence it is, that the doctors of the reformed church carry on, at this day, their philosophical inquiries with the same freedom that is observable among the Lutherans. It may, indeed, be a question with some, whether Aristotle be not, even yet, secretly revered in some of the English universities. It is at least certain, that, although, under the government of Charles II. and in the two succeeding reigns, the mathematical philosophy had made a most extensive progress in Great-Britain, there were, both at Oxford and Cambridge, some doctors who preferred the ancient system of the schools to the new discoveries now under consideration.

Interpreters and expositors of Scripture.

VII. All the interpreters and expositors of Scripture that made a figure in the reformed church about the commencement of this century, followed scrupulously the method of Calvin in their illustrations of the sacred writings, and unfolded the true and natural signification of the words of Scripture, without perplexing their brains to find out deep mysteries in plain expressions, or to force, by the inventive efforts of fancy, a variety of singular notions from the metaphorical language that is frequently used by the inspired writers. This attachment to the method of Calvin, was indeed considerably diminished, in the sequel, by the credit and influence of two celebrated commentators, who struck out new paths in the

[w] See Baillet's Vie de René Des-Cartes.

CENT. XVII. sphere of sacred criticism. These were Hugo Grotius, and John Cocceius. The former departed less from the manner of interpretation generally received than the latter. Like Calvin, he followed in his commentaries, both in the Old and New Testament, the literal and obvious signification of the words employed by the sacred writers; but he differed considerably from that great man in his manner of explaining the predictions of the prophets. The hypothesis of Grotius, upon that important subject, amounts to this: "That the predictions of the ancient prophets "were all accomplished in the events to which they "directly pointed before the coming of Christ; and "that therefore the natural and obvious sense and "import of the words and phrases, in which they "were delivered, do not terminate in our blessed "Lord; but that, in some of these predictions, and "more especially in those which the writers of the "New Testament apply to Christ, there is, beside "the literal and obvious signification, a hidden and "mysterious sense, that lies concealed under the "external mask of certain persons, events, and "actions, which are *representative* of the person, "ministry, sufferings, and merits of the Son of God."

The method of Cocceius was entirely different from this. He looked upon the whole history of the Old Testament as a perpetual and uninterrupted representation or mirror of the history of the divine Saviour, and of the Christian church; he maintained, moreover, that all the prophecies have a literal and direct relation to Christ; and he finished his romantic system by laying it down as a certain maxim, that all the events and revolutions which shall happen in the church, until the end of time, are prefigured and pointed out, though not all with the same degree of evidence and perspicuity, in different places of the Old Testament [x]. Each of these eminent commenta-

[x] It is become almost a proverbial saying, that in the Books of the Old Testament Cocceius finds Christ every where, while Grotius meets him no where. The first part of this saying is

tors had his zealous disciples and followers. The Arminians in general, many of the English and French divines, together with those warm votaries of ancient Calvinism who are called Voetians (from their chief Gisbert Voet, the great adversary of Cocceius), adopted the method of interpreting Scripture introduced by Grotius. On the other hand, many of the Dutch, Swiss, and Germans, were singularly delighted with the learned fancies of Cocceius. There are, however, still great numbers of prudent and impartial divines, who, considering the extremes into which these two eminent critics ran, and disposed to profit by what is really solid in both their systems, neither reject nor embrace their opinions in the aggregate, but agree with them both in some things, and differ from them both in others. It may also be observed, that neither the followers of Grotius nor those of Cocceius are agreed among themselves, and that these two general classes of expositors may be divided into many subordinate ones. A considerable number of English divines of the episcopal church refused to adopt the opinions, or to respect the authority, of these modern expositors; they appealed to the decisions of the primitive fathers, and maintained, that the sacred writings ought always to be understood in that sense *only*, which has been attributed to them by these ancient doctors of the rising church [y].

certainly true; the latter much less so: for it appears, with sufficient evidence, from the Commentaries of Grotius, that he finds Christ prefigured in many places of the Old Testament, not, indeed, *directly* in the *letter* of the prophecies, where Cocceius discovers him, but *mysteriously*, under the appearance of certain persons, and in the *secret* sense of certain transactions.

☞ [y] These have been confuted by the learned Dr. Whitby, in his important work, concerning the Interpretation of Scripture after the Manner of the Fathers, which was published in 1714, under the following title: 'Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios,' &c.—In this dissertation, which was the forerunner of the many remarkable attempts that were afterwards made to deliver the right of

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State of didactic theology in the Reformed church.

VIII. The doctrines of Christianity, which had been so sadly disfigured among the Lutherans by the obscure jargon and the intricate tenets of the scholastic philosophy, met with the same fate in the Reformed churches. The first successful effort, that prevented these churches from falling entirely under the Aristotelian yoke, was made by the Arminians, who were remarkable for expounding, with simplicity and perspicuity, the truths and precepts of religion, and who censured, with great plainness and severity, those ostentatious doctors, who affected to render them obscure and unintelligible, by expressing them in the *terms*, and reducing them under the *classes* and divisions, used in the schools. The Cartesians and Cocceians contributed also to deliver theology from the chains of the Peripatetics; though it must be allowed, that it had not, in some respects, a much better fate in the hands of these its deliverers. The Cartesians applied the principles and tenets of their philosophy, in illustrating the doctrines of the Gospel; the Cocceians imagined, that they could not give a more sublime and engaging aspect to the Christian religion, than by representing it under the notion of a *covenant*

private judgement, in matters of religion, from the restraints of human authority, the judicious author has shewn, first, that the Scripture is the only rule of faith, and that by it alone we are to judge of the doctrines that are necessary to salvation; secondly, that the fathers, both of the primitive times and also of succeeding ages, are extremely deficient and unsuccessful in their explications of the sacred writings; and, thirdly, that it is impossible to terminate the debates concerning the Trinity, by the opinions of the fathers, the decisions of councils, or by any tradition which is really universal. The contradictions, absurdities, the romantic conceits and extravagant fancies, that are to be found in the commentaries of the fathers, were never represented in such a ridiculous point of view as they are in this performance. The worst part of the matter is, that such a production as Dr. Whitby's, in which all the mistakes of these ancient expositors are culled out and compiled with such care, may tend to prejudice young students even against what may be good in their writings, and thus give them a disgust to a kind of study, which, when conducted with impartiality and prudence, has its uses. It is the infirmity of our nature to be fond of extremes.

concluded between God and man[z]; and both these modes of proceeding were disliked by the wisest and most learned divines of the reformed church. They complained with reason, that the tenets and distinctions of the Cartesian philosophy had as evident a tendency to render the doctrines of Christianity obscure and intricate as the abstruse terms, and the endless divisions and subdivisions of the Peripatetics. They observed also, that the metaphor of a covenant, applied to the Christian religion, must be attended with many inconveniences, by leading uninstructed minds to form a variety of ill-grounded notions, which is the ordinary consequence of straining metaphors; and that it must contribute to introduce into the colleges of divinity the captious terms, distinctions, and quibbles, that are employed in the ordinary courts of justice, and thus give rise to the most trifling and ill-judged discussions and debates about religious matters. Accordingly, the greatest part, both of the British and French doctors, refused to admit the intricacies of Cartesianism or the imagery of Cocceius into their theological system, and followed the free,

☞ [z] It is somewhat surprising, that Dr. Mosheim should mention this circumstance as an invention of Cocceius, or as a manner of speaking peculiar to him. The representation of the Gospel dispensation under the idea of a *Covenant*, whether this representation be literal or metaphorical, is to be found, almost every where, in the Epistles of St. Paul, and of the other apostles, though rarely (scarcely more than twice) in the Gospels. The same phraseology has also been adopted by Christians of almost all denominations. It is, indeed, a manner of speaking that has been grossly abused by those divines, who, urging the metaphor too closely, exhibit the sublime transactions of the divine wisdom under the narrow and imperfect forms of human tribunals, and thus lead to false notions of the springs of action, as well as of the dispensations and attributes of the Supreme Being. We have remarkable instances of this abuse, in a book lately translated into English; I mean the Œconomy of the Covenants, by Witsius, in which that learned and pious man, who has deservedly gained an eminent reputation by other valuable productions, has inconsiderately introduced the captious, formal, and trivial terms, employed in human courts, into his descriptions of the stupendous scheme of redemption.

CENT. XVII. easy, and unaffected method of the Arminian divines, in illustrating the truths, and enforcing the duties of Christianity.

The state of practical religion and morality.

IX. We have had occasion to observe, that Dr. William Ames, a Scotish divine, was one of the first among the Reformed who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it abstractedly from its connexion with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new degree of accuracy and precision, into this master-science of life and manners. The attempt was laudable, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtile, and was thus much more adapted to the instruction of the studious than to the practical direction of the Christian. The Arminians, who are known to be much more zealous in enforcing the duties of Christianity than in illustrating its truths, and who generally employ more pains in directing the will than in enlightening the understanding, engaged several authors of note to exhibit the precepts and obligations of morality in a more useful, practical, and popular manner; but the English and French surpassed all the moral writers of the reformed church in penetration and solidity, and in the ease, freedom, and perspicuity, of their method and compositions. Moses Amyrault, a man of a sound understanding and subtile genius, was the first French divine who distinguished himself in this kind of writing. He composed an accurate and elaborate system of morality, in a style, indeed, that is now obsolete; and those more moderate French writers, such as La Placette and Pictet, who acquired such a high reputation on account of their moral writings, owe to the excellent work now mentioned a considerable part of their glory. While England groaned under the horrors and tumults of a civil war, it was chiefly the Presbyterians and Independents that employed their talents and their pens in promoting the cause of practical religion. During this unhappy period, indeed, these

doctors were remarkable for the austere gravity of their manners, and for a melancholy complexion and turn of mind which appeared abundantly in their compositions. Some of these were penned with such rigor and severity, as discovered either a total ignorance of the present imperfect state of humanity, or an entire want of indulgence for its unavoidable infirmities. Others were composed with a spirit of enthusiasm, that betrayed an evident propensity to the doctrine of the Mystics. But, when Hobbes appeared, the scene changed. A new set of illustrious and excellent writers arose to defend the truths of religion, and the obligations of morality, against this author, who aimed at the destruction of both, since he subjected the unchangeable nature of religion to the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and endeavoured to efface the eternal distinction that exists between moral good and evil. Cudworth, Cumberland, Sharrock, and others[a], alarmed at the view of a system so false in its principles, and so pernicious in its effects, rendered eminent service to the cause of religion and morals by their immortal labors, in which, rising to the first principles of things, and opening the primitive and eternal fountains of truth and good, they illustrated clearly the doctrines of the one with the fairest evidence, and established the obligations of the other on the firmest foundations.

The controversies concerning predestination and grace.

X. About the commencement of this century, the college of Geneva was in such high repute among the reformed churches, that it was resorted to from all quarters by persons who were desirous of a learned education, and more especially by those students of theology, whose circumstances in life permitted them to frequent this famous seminary[b]. Hence it very naturally happened, that the opinions of Calvin, con-

☞ [a] See Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i. p. 48.

[b] The lustre and authority of the college of Geneva began gradually to decline, from the time that, the United Provinces being formed into a free and independent republic, universities were founded at Leyden, Franeker, and Utrecht.

CENT. XVII. cerning the decrees of God and divine grace, became daily more general, and were gradually introduced every where into the schools of learning. There was not, however, any public law or confession of faith that obliged the pastors of the reformed churches, in any part of the world, to conform their sentiments to the theological doctrines that were adopted and taught at Geneva[c]. And accordingly there were many, who either rejected entirely the doctrine of that college on these intricate points, or received it with certain restrictions and modifications. Even those who were in general attached to the theological system of Geneva, did not perfectly agree about the manner of explaining the doctrines relating to the divine decrees. The majority were of opinion, that God had only *permitted* the first man to fall into transgression, without positively *predetermining* his fall. But others went much farther, and presumptuously forgetting their own ignorance on the one hand, and the wisdom and equity of the divine counsels on the other, maintained, that God, in order to exercise and display his awful justice and his free mercy, had decreed from all eternity the transgression of Adam, and so ordered the course of events, that our first parents could not possibly avoid their unhappy fall. Those who held this latter sentiment were denominated *Supralapsarians*, to distinguish them from the *Sublapsarian* doctors, who maintained the doctrine of *permission* already mentioned.

The Arminian schism.

XI. It is remarkable that the Supralapsarian and Sublapsarian divines forgot their debates and differences, as matters of little consequence, and united their force against those who thought it their duty to represent the Deity, as extending his goodness and mercy to all mankind. This gave rise, soon after the commencement of this century, to a deplorable

[c] See, for a full demonstration of this assertion, Grotius' Apologeticus, &c.; as also several treatises, written in Dutch by Theod. Volkh. Coornhert, of whom Arnold makes particular mention in his Historia Eccles. tom. ii.

schism, which all the efforts of human wisdom have since been unable to heal. James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, rejected the doctrine of the church of Geneva, in relation to the deep and intricate points of predestination and grace; and maintained, with the Lutherans, that God has excluded none from salvation by an absolute and eternal decree. He was joined in these sentiments by several persons in Holland, who were eminently distinguished by the extent of their learning, and the dignity of their stations; but he met with the warmest opposition from Francis Gomar, his colleague, and from the principal professors in the Dutch universities. The magistrates exhorted the contending parties to moderation and charity; and observed, that, in a free state, their respective opinions might be treated with toleration, without any detriment to the essential interests of true religion. After long and tedious debates, which were frequently attended with popular tumults and civil broils, this intricate controversy was, by the counsels and authority [d] of Maurice, prince of Orange, referred to the decision of the church, assembled in a general synod at Dordrecht, in 1618. The most eminent divines of the United Provinces, and many learned deputies from the churches of England, Scotland, Switzerland, Bremen, Hesse, and the Palatinate, were present at this numerous and solemn assembly. It was by the sentence of these judges, that the Arminians lost their cause, and were declared corruptors of the true religion. It must be observed, at the same time, that the doctors of Geneva, who embraced the Sublapsarian system, triumphed over their adversaries in this synod; for, though the patrons of the Supralapsarian cause were far from being contemptible either in

☞ [d] It was not by the authority of prince Maurice, but by that of the States-general, that the national synod was assembled at Dordrecht. The states were not indeed unanimous; three of the seven provinces protested against the holding of this synod, viz. Holland, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel.

CENT. XVII. point of number or of abilities, yet the moderation and equity of the British divines prevented the synod from giving its sanction to the opinions of that presumptuous sect. Nor indeed would even the Sublapsarians have obtained the accomplishment of their desires, had the doctors of Bremen, who for weighty reasons were attached to the Lutherans, been able to execute their purposes [e].

The effects of this schism.

XII. It is greatly to be doubted, whether this victory, gained over the Arminians, was, upon the whole, advantageous or detrimental to the church of Geneva in particular, and to the reformed church in general. It is at least certain, that, after the synod of Dordrecht, the doctrine of absolute decrees lost ground from day to day; and its patrons were put to the hard necessity of holding fraternal communion with those whose doctrine was either professedly Arminian, or at least nearly resembled it. The leaders of the vanquished Arminians were eminently distinguished by their eloquence, sagacity, and learning; and, being highly exasperated by the injurious and oppressive treatment they met with, in consequence of their condemnation, they defended themselves, and attacked their adversaries with such spirit and vigor, and also with such dexterity and eloquence, that multitudes were persuaded of the justice of their cause. It is particularly to be observed, that the authority of the synod of Dordrecht was far from being universally acknowleged among the Dutch; the provinces of Friseland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Groningen, could not be persuaded to adopt its decisions; and though, in 1651, they were at length gained over so far as to intimate, that they would see with pleasure the reformed religion maintained upon the footing on which it had been placed and confirmed by the synod, yet the most eminent

[e] We shall give, in the History of the Arminians, a list of the writers who appeared in this controversy, and a more particular account of the transactions of the synod of Dordrecht.

adepts in Belgic jurisprudence deny that this intimation has the force or character of a law [f].

In England, the face of religion changed considerably, in a very little time after the famous synod now mentioned; and this change, which was entirely in favor of Arminianism, was principally effected by the counsels and influence of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. This revolution gave new courage to the Arminians; and, from that period to the present time, they have had the pleasure of seeing the decisions and doctrines of the synod, relating to the points in debate between them and the Calvinists, treated in England, with something more than mere indifference, beheld by some with aversion, and by others with contempt [g]. And, indeed, if we consider the genius and spirit of the church of England during this period, we shall plainly see, that the doctrine of the Gomarists, concerning predestination and grace, could not meet there with a favorable reception, since the leading English divines were zealous in modeling its doctrine and discipline after the sentiments and institutions that were received in the primitive times, and since those early fathers of the church, whom they followed with a profound submission, had never presumed, before Augustine, to set limits to the extent of the divine grace and mercy.

The reformed churches in France seemed, at first, disposed to give a favorable reception to the decisions of this famous synod; but, as these decisions were highly displeasing to the votaries of Rome among whom they lived, and kindled anew their rage against the protestants, the latter thought it their duty to be circumspect in this matter; and, in process of time, their real sentiments, and the doctrines they taught, began to differ extremely form those of the Gomar-

[f] See the very learned and illustrious president Bynkershoek's Quæstiones Juris publici, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

[g] Sev. Lintrupii Dissertatio de Contemptu Concilii Dordraceni in Angliâ, in Dissert. Theologicis Hect. Godofr. Masii, tom. i. n. xix.

CENT. XVII. ists. The churches of Brandenburg and Bremen, which made a considerable figure among the reformed in Germany, would never suffer their doctors to be tied down to the opinions and tenets of the Dutch divines; and thus it happened, that the liberty of private judgement (with respect to the doctrines of predestination and grace), which the spirit that prevailed among the divines of Dordrecht seemed so much calculated to suppress or discourage, acquired rather new vigor, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of that assembly; and the reformed church was immediately divided into Universalists, Semi-Universalists, Supralapsarians, and Sublapsarians, who, indeed, notwithstanding their dissensions, which sometimes become violent and tumultuous, live generally in the exercise of mutual toleration, and are reciprocally restrained by many reasons from indulging a spirit of hostility and persecution. What is still more remarkable, and therefore ought not to be passed over in silence, we see the city of Geneva, which was the parent, the nurse, and the guardian of the doctrine of absolute predestination and particular grace, not only display sentiments of charity, forbearance, and esteem for the Arminians, but become itself almost so far Arminian, as to deserve a place among the churches of that communion.

The particular tenets of the reformed church in France.

XIII. While the reformed church in France yet subsisted, its doctors departed, in several points, from the common rule of faith that was received in the other churches of their communion. This, as appears from several circumstances, in a great measure resulted from their desire of diminishing the prejudices of the catholics against them, and of repelling a part of the odious conclusions which were drawn by their adversaries from the doctrines of Dordrecht, and laid to their charge with that malignity which popish bigotry so naturally inspires. Hence we find, in the books that were composed by the doctors of Saumur and Sedan after the synod, many things which seem con-

formable, not only to the sentiments of the Lutherans, concerning grace, predestination, the person of Christ, and the efficacy of the sacraments, but also to certain peculiar opinions of the Romish church. This moderation may be dated from the year 1615, when the opinion of John Piscator, pastor at Herborn, concerning the obedience of Christ, was tacitly adopted, or at least pronounced free from error, by the synod of the isle of France[h], though it had been condemned and rejected in several preceding assemblies of the same nature[i]. Piscator maintained, that it was not by his obedience to the divine law that Christ made a satisfaction to that law in our stead, since this obedience was his duty considered as a man; and, therefore, being obliged to obey this law himself, his observance of it could not merit any thing for others from the Supreme Being. This opinion, as every one may see, tended to confirm the doctrine of the Romish church, concerning the merit of good works, the natural power of man to obey the commands of God, and other points of a like nature[i]. These less

[h] Aymon, Actes de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, tom. ii. p. 275, 276.

[i] See Aymon, tom. i. p. 400, 401, 457, tom. ii. p. 13.—Bossuet, Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, livr. xii. tom. ii. p. 268, where this prelate, with his usual malignity and bitterness, reproaches the protestants with their inconstancy. The learned Basnage has endeavoured to defend the reformed churches against this charge, in the second volume of his Histoire de l'Eglise, p. 1533: but his defence is not satisfactory. ☞ To Dr. Mosheim, who speaks more than once of the reformed church and its doctors with partiality and prejudice, this defence may not appear satisfactory; it has, nevertheless, been judged so by many persons of uncommon discernment; and we invite the reader to judge for himself.

☞ [i] It does not appear to me that any one, who looks with an unprejudiced eye, can see the least connexion between the opinion of Piscator (which I shall not here either refute or defend), and the popish doctrine which maintains the merit of good works; for, though we are not justified (i. e. pardoned or treated as if we had not offended) in consequence of Christ's active obedience to the divine law, yet we may be so by his death and sufferings; and it is really to these, that the Scriptures, in many places, ascribe our acceptance. Now a person

CENT. XVII. important concessions were followed by others of a much more weighty and momentous kind, of which some were so erroneous that they were strongly disapproved and rejected, even by those of the French protestants themselves, who were the most remarkable for their moderation, charity, and love of peace [k].

who ascribes his acceptance and salvation to the death and mediation of Christ, does not surely give any countenance to the doctrine of the strict and rigorous merit of works, although he should not be so *sharp-sighted* as to perceive the influence which certain doctors attribute to what is called Christ's *active obedience*. But let it be observed here, in a particular manner, that the opinion of Piscator is much more unfavorable to popery than our author imagined, since it overturns totally, by a direct and most natural consequence, the popish doctrine concerning works of supererogation, which is as monstrous an absurdity in morals, as transubstantiation is in the estimation of common sense; for, if Christ, in his universal and perfect obedience to the divine laws, did no more than he was morally obliged to do by his character as a man, is it not absurd, if not impious, to seek in the virtue of the Romish saints (all of whom were very imperfect, and some of them very worthless mortals) an exuberance of obedience, a superabundant quantity of virtue, to which they were not obliged, and which they are supposed to deposit in the hands of the popes, who are empowered to distribute it, for love or money, among such as have need of it to make up their accounts?

☞ [k] This affirmation is groundless, and I wish it were not liable to the charge of malignity. The accusation that Dr. Mosheim brings here against the reformed church in France is of too serious a nature not to require the most evident and circumstantial proofs. He has, however, alleged none; nor has he given any one instance of these weighty and momentous concessions that were made to popery. It was not, indeed, in his power either to give arguments or examples of a satisfactory kind; and it is highly probable, that the unguarded words of Elias Saurin, minister of Utrecht, in relation to the learned Louis Le Blanc, professor of Sedan (which dropped from the pen of the former, in his Examen de la Theologie de M. Jurieu), are the only testimony Dr. Mosheim had to allege, in support of an accusation, which he has not limited to any one person, but inconsiderately thrown out upon the French churches in general. Those who are desirous of a full illustration of this matter, and yet have not an opportunity of consulting the original sources of information, may satisfy their curiosity by perusing the articles *Beaulieu* and *Amyrault* in Bayle's Dictionary, and the articles *Pajon* and *Papin* in M. de Chauffepied's supplement to that work. Any concessions that seem to have been made by the

CENT. XVII.

The controversy excited by the Hypothetical Universalists.

XIV. The doctors of Saumur revived a controversy, that had for some time been suspended, by their attempts to reconcile the doctrine of predestination, as it had been taught at Geneva, and confirmed at Dordrecht, with the sentiments of those who represent the Deity as offering the displays of his goodness and mercy to all mankind. The first person who made this fruitless attempt was John Cameron, whose sentiments were supported and illustrated by Moses Amyrault, a man of uncommon sagacity and erudition. The latter applied himself, from the year 1634, with unparalleled zeal, to this arduous work, and displayed in it extraordinary exertions of capacity and genius; and so ardently was he bent on bringing it into execution, that he made, for this purpose, no small changes in the doctrine commonly received among the reformed in France. The form of doctrine which he had devised, in order to accomplish this important reconciliation, may be briefly summed up in the following propositions: "That God desires "the happiness of all men, and that no mortal is "excluded, by any divine decree, from the benefits "that are procured by the death, sufferings, and "gospel of Christ:

"That, however, no one can be made a partaker "of the blessings of the Gospel, and of eternal salva-"tion, without believing in Jesus Christ:

"That such, indeed, is the immense and universal "goodness of the Supreme Being, that he refuses to "none the power of believing, though he does not "grant unto all his assistance and succour, that they "may wisely improve this power to the attainment "of everlasting salvation:

protestant doctors in France to their adversaries, consisted in giving an Arminian turn to some of the more rigid tenets of Calvin relating to original sin, predestination, and grace; and this turn would undoubtedly have been given to these doctrines, had popery been out of the question. But these concessions are not certainly what our historian had in view; nor would he, in effect, have treated such concessions as erroneous.

"And, that, in consequence of this, multitudes "perish through their own fault, and not from any "want of goodness in God[1]."

Those who embraced this doctrine were called Universalists, because they represented God as willing to shew mercy to all mankind; and Hypothetical Universalists, because the condition of faith in Christ was necessary to render them the objects of this mercy. It is the opinion of many, that this doctrine differs little from that which was established by the synod of Dordrecht: but such do not seem to have attentively considered either the principles whence it is derived, or the consequences to which it leads. The more I examine this reconciling system, the more I am persuaded, that it is no more than Arminianism or Pelagianism artfully dressed up, and ingeniously covered with a half-transparent veil of specious, but ambiguous expressions; and this judgement is confirmed by the language that is used in treating this subject by the modern followers of Amyrault, who

[1] See Jo. Wolfg. Jaegeri Historia Eccles. sæc. xvii. decenn. iv. p. 522.

☞ This mitigated view of the doctrine of predestination has only one defect; but it is a capital one. It represents God as desiring a thing (*i. e.* salvation and happiness) for all, which, in order to its attainment, requires a degree of his assistance and succour, which he refuses to many. This rendered grace and redemption universal only in words, but partial in reality, and therefore did not at all mend the matter. The Supralapsarians were consistent with themselves; but their doctrine was harsh and terrible, and was founded on the most unworthy notions of the Supreme Being; and, on the other hand, the system of Amyrault was full of inconsistencies; even the Sublapsarian doctrine has its difficulties, and rather palliates than removes the horrors of Supralapsarianism. What then is to be done? from what quarter shall the candid and well-disposed Christian receive that solid satisfaction and wise direction, which neither system is adapted to administer? These he will receive by turning his dazzled and feeble eye from the secret decrees of God, which were neither designed to be rules of action, nor sources of comfort to mortals here below; and by fixing his view upon the mercy of God, as it is manifested through Christ, upon the pure laws and sublime promises of his gospel, and the equity of his present government and his future tribunal.

express their sentiments with greater courage, plainness, and perspicuity, than the spirit of the times permitted their master to do. A cry was raised in several French synods, against the doctrine of Amyrault; but, after it had been carefully examined by them, and defended by him at their public meetings with his usual eloquence and erudition, he was honorably acquitted [m]. The opposition he met with from Holland was still more formidable, as it came from the celebrated pens of Rivet, Spanheim, Des-Marets, and other learned adversaries. He nevertheless answered them with great spirit and vigor; and his cause was powerfully supported afterwards by Daillé, Blondel, Mestrezat, and Claude [n]. This controversy was carried on for a long time, with great animosity, and little fruit to those who opposed the opinions of the French innovator: for the sentiments of Amyrault were not only received in all the colleges of the Huguenots in France, and adopted by divines of the highest note in that nation, but also spread themselves as far as Geneva, and were afterwards disseminated by the French protestants, who fled from the rage of persecution, through all the reformed churches of Europe; and they now are so generally received, that few have the courage to oppose or decry them.

The contests occasioned by de la Place and Capel.

XV. The desire of mitigating certain doctrines of the reformed church, which drew upon it the heaviest censures from both the Roman catholics and some protestant communions, was the true origin of the opinion propagated, in the year 1640, by Joshua de la Place, concerning the imputation of original sin. This divine, who was the intimate friend of Amyrault,

[m] See Aymon's Actes des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées en France, tom. ii. p. 571, 604.—Blondel's Actes Authentiques des Eglises Reformées touchant la Paix et la Charité fraternelle.

[n] Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. at the articles *Amyrault* and *Blondel*; and vol. ii. at the article *Daillé*.—See Christ. Pfaffius, de Formulâ Consensus, cap. i.

CENT. XVII. and his colleague at Saumur, rejected the opinion generally received in the schools of the reformed, that the personal and actual transgression of the first man is imputed to his posterity. He maintained, on the contrary, that God imputes to every man his natural corruption, his personal guilt, and his propensity to sin; or, to speak in the theological style, he affirmed, that original sin is indirectly, and not directly, imputed to mankind. This opinion was condemned as erroneous, in 1642, by the synod of Charenton, and many Dutch and Helvetic doctors of great name endeavoured to refute it [o], while the love of peace and union prevented its author from defending it in a public and open manner [p]. But neither the sentence of the synod, nor the silence of M. de la Place, could preclude this sentiment from making a deep impression on the minds of many, who deemed it conformable to the plainest dictates of justice and equity; nor could they prevent its being transmitted, with the French exiles, into other countries.

In the class of those who, to diminish or avoid the resentment of the papists, made concessions inconsistent with truth, and detrimental to the purity of the protestant religion, many place Louis Capel, professor at Saumur, who, in a voluminous and elaborate work [q], undertook to prove that the Hebrew points were not used by the sacred writers, and were a modern invention added to the text by the Masoretes [r]. It is at least certain, that this hypothesis was highly agreeable to the votaries of Rome, and seemed manifestly adapted to diminish the authority

[o] Aymon, tom. ii. p. 680.

[p] Christ. Eberh. Weismanni Histor. Eccles. sæc. xvii. p. 817.

[q] This work, which is entitled, Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum, may be found with its Vindiciæ in the works of Capel, printed at Amsterdam in 1689, and in the Critica Sacra Veteris Testamenti, published at Paris in 1650.

☞ [r] It was also Capel who affirmed that the characters which compose the Hebrew text, were such as the Chaldeans used after the Babylonian captivity, the Jews having always made use of the Samaritan characters before that period.

of the Scriptures, and to put them upon a level with oral tradition, if not to render their decisions still less respectable and certain [s]. On these accounts, the system of this famous professor was opposed, with the most ardent efforts of erudition and zeal, by several doctors both of the reformed and Lutheran churches, who were eminent for their knowlege of the Hebrew language, and their general acquaintance with Oriental learning [t].

Louis Le Blanc.

XVI. Though these great men gave offence to many, by the freedom and novelty of their sentiments, yet they had the approbation and esteem of the greatest part of the reformed churches; and the equity of succeeding generations removed the aspersions that envy had thrown upon them during their lives, and made ample amends for the injuries they had received from several of their contemporaries. This was far from being the case of those doctors who either openly attempted to bring about a complete reconciliation and union between the reformed and Romish churches, or explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner as lessened the difference between the communions, and thereby rendered the passage from the former to the latter less disgusting and painful. The attempts of these advocates of peace were looked upon as odious; and in the issue they proved utterly unsuccessful. The most eminent of these reconciling doctors were Louis Le Blanc, professor at Sedan, and Claude Pajon, minister of

☞ [s] This absurd notion of the tendency of Capel's hypothesis is now almost entirely exploded by the learned world. Be that as it may, the hypothesis in question is by no means peculiar to Capel; it was adopted by Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, the three great pillars of the Reformation; as also by Munster, Olivetan, Masius, Scaliger, Casaubon, Drusius, De Dieu, Walton, and Bochart, those eminent men, who have thrown such light on sacred philology; so that Capel had only the merit of supporting it by new arguments, and placing it in a striking and luminous point of view.

[t] See B. Jo. Christ. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebraica.

CENT. XVII. Orleans [u], who were both remarkable for the persuasive power of their eloquence, and discovered an uncommon degree of penetration and sagacity in their writings and negotiations. The former passed in review many of the controversies that divided the two churches, and seemed clearly to prove, that some of them were merely disputes about words, and that the others were of much less consequence than was generally imagined [w]. This manner of stating the differences between the two churches drew upon Le Blanc the indignation of those who considered all attempts to soften and modify controverted doctrines as dangerous and detrimental to the cause of truth [x]. On the other hand, the acuteness and dexterity with which he treated this delicate affair, made a considerable impression upon many persons, and procured him disciples, who still entertain his reconciling sentiments, but either conceal them entirely, or discover them with caution, as they are known to be displeasing to the greatest part of the members of both communions.

Claude Pajon.

XVII. The modifications under which Pajon exhibited some of the doctrines of the reformed church, were also extremely offensive and unpopular. This ecclesiastic applied the principles and tenets of the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a warm and able defender, to an explication of the opinions of

☞ [u] It is difficult to conceive what could engage Dr. Mosheim to place Pajon in the class of those who explained the doctrines of Christianity in such a manner, as to diminish the difference between the doctrines of the reformed and papal churches. Pajon was, indeed, a moderate divine, and leaned toward the Arminian system; and this propensity was not uncommon among the French protestants. But few doctors of this time wrote against popery with more learning, zeal, and judgement, than Claude Pajon, as appears from his excellent treatise against Nicole, entitled, "Examen du Livre qui porte pour titre prejugez legitimes contre les Calvinistes."

[w] In his Theses Theologicæ, which are highly worthy of an attentive perusal.

[x] See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article *Beaulieu*.

that church relating to the corruption of human nature, the state of its moral faculties and powers, the grace of God, and the conversion of sinners; and, in the judgement of many, he gave an erroneous interpretation of these opinions. It is, indeed, very difficult to determine what were the real sentiments of this man; nor is it easy to say, whether this difficulty be most owing to the affected obscurity and ambiguity under which he disguised them, or to the inaccuracy with which his adversaries, through negligence or malignity, have represented them. If we may give credit to the latter, his doctrine amounts to the following propositions: "That the corruption "of man is less, and his natural power to amend his "ways greater, than is generally imagined:—That "original sin lies in the understanding alone, "and consists principally in the obscurity and imper-"fection of our ideas of divine things:—That this "imperfection of the human understanding has a per-"nicious influence upon the will, excites in it "vicious propensities, and thus leads it to sinful "actions:—That this internal disorder is healed, not "by the mere efforts of our natural faculties and "powers, but by the assistance and energy of the "Holy Spirit, operating upon the mind by the divine "word as its mean or instrument:—That, however, "this word is not endowed with any divine intrinsic "energy, either natural or supernatural, but only with "a moral influence, i. e. it corrects and improves the "understanding, in the same manner as human truth "does, even by imparting clear and distinct notions "of spiritual and divine things, and furnishing solid "arguments for the truth and divinity of the Chris-"tian religion, and its perfect conformity with the "dictates of right reason;—and that, in consequence, "every man, if no internal or external impediments "destroy or suspend the exertion of his natural "powers and faculties, may, by the use of his own "reason, and a careful and assiduous study of the "revealed will of God, be enabled to correct what is

CENT. XVII. "amiss in his sentiments, affections, and actions, "without any extraordinary assistance from the Holy "Ghost[y]."

Such is the account of the opinions of Pajon, given by his adversaries. On the other hand, if we take our ideas of his doctrine from himself, we shall find this account disingenuous and erroneous. Pajon intimates plainly his assent to the doctrines that were confirmed by the synod of Dordrecht, and which are contained in the catechisms and confessions of faith of the reformed churches; he complains that his doctrine has been ill understood or wilfully perverted; and he observes, that he did not deny entirely an immediate operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of those who are really converted to God, but only such an immediate operation as was not accompanied with the ministry and efficacy of the divine word; or, to express the matter in other terms, he declared that he could not adopt the sentiments of those who represent that word as no more than an instrument void of intrinsic efficacy, a mere external sign of an immediate operation of the Spirit of God[z]. This last declaration is, however, both obscure and captious. Be that as it may, Pajon concludes by observing, that we ought not to dispute about the manner in which the Holy Spirit operates upon the minds of men, but content ourselves with acknowleging, that this spirit is the true and original author of all that is good in the affections of our heart, and the actions that proceed from them. Notwithstanding these declarations, the doctrine of this learned and ingenious ecclesiastic was not only deemed heterodox by some of the most eminent divines of the reformed church, but was also

[y] Fred. Spanheim's Append. ad Elenchum Controversiar. tom. iii. op. p. 882—Jurieu's Traité de la Nature et de la Grace, p. 35.—Val. Ern. Loscher's Exercit. de Claud. Pajonii ejusque Sectatorum Doctrina et Fatis.

[z] All these declarations made by Pajon may be seen in a confession of his faith, supposed to have been drawn up by himself, and published by the learned M. de Chauffepied, in his Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Critique, tom. ii. p. 164.

condemned, in 1677, by several synods in France, and, in 1686, by a synod assembled at Rotterdam.

CENT. XVII.

Papin.

XVIII. This controversy, which seemed to be brought to a conclusion by the death of Pajon, was revived, or rather continued, by Isaac Papin, his nephew, a native of Blois, who, by his writings and travels, was highly instrumental in communicating to England, Holland, and Germany, the contagion of these unhappy debates. This ecclesiastic expressed his sentiments without ambiguity or reserve, and zealously propagated the doctrine of his uncle, which, according to his crude and harsh manner of representing it, he reduced to the two following propositions:

"That the natural powers and faculties of man "are more than sufficient to lead him to the know-"lege of divine truth:

"That, in order to produce that amendment of the "heart, which is called regeneration, nothing more "is requisite than to put the body, if its habit is bad, "into a sound state by the power of physic, and then "to set truth and falsehood before the understand-"ing, and virtue and vice before the will, in their "genuine colors, clearly and distinctly, so that their "nature and properties may be fully apprehended."

This and the other opinions of Papin were refuted with a considerable degree of acrimony, in 1686, by the famous Jurieu, professor of divinity, and pastor of the French church at Rotterdam; and they were condemned in the following year by the synod of Bois-le-duc. In 1688, they were condemned, with still greater marks of severity, by the French synod at the Hague, where a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against their author. Exasperated at these proceedings, Papin returned into France in 1690, where he publicly abjured the protestant religion, and embraced the communion of the church of Rome, in which he died in 1709 [a]. It has been

[a] See Jurieu de la Nature et de la Grace—Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 608.

CENT. XVII. affirmed by some, that this ingenious man was treated with great rigor and injustice, and that his theological opinions were unfaithfully represented by his violent and unrelenting adversary, Jurieu, whose warmth and impetuosity in religious controversy are well known. How far this affirmation may be supported by evidence, we cannot pretend to determine. A doctrine in some degree resembling that of Pajon, was maintained in several treatises, in 1684, by Charles le Cene, a French divine of uncommon learning and sagacity, who gave a new and very singular translation of the Bible[b]. But he entirely rejected the doctrine of original sin, and of the impotency of human nature; and asserted, that it was in every man's power to amend his ways, and arrive at a state of obedience and virtue, by the mere use of his natural faculties, and an attentive study of the divine word; more especially, if these were seconded by the advantage of a good education, and the influence of virtuous examples. Hence several divines pretend that his doctrine is, in many respects, different from that of Pajon[c].

Le Cene.

The state of the church of England under James I.

XIX. The church of England had, for a long time, resembled a ship tossed on a boisterous and tempestuous ocean. The opposition of the Papists on the one hand, and the discontents and remonstrances of the Puritans on the other, had kept it in a perpetual ferment. When, on the death of Elizabeth, James I. ascended the throne, the latter conceived the warmest hopes of seeing more serene and prosperous days, and of being delivered from the vexations and oppressions to which they had been constantly exposed on account of their attachment to the discipline and worship of the church of Geneva. These hopes were so much the more natural, as the king had received his education in Scotland, where the Puritans prevailed, and had,

[b] This translation was published at Amsterdam in 1741, and was condemned by the French synod in Holland.

[c] See the learned and laborious M. Chauffepied's Nouv. Diction. tom. ii. p. 160.

on some occasions, made the strongest declarations of his attachment to their ecclesiastical constitution[d]. And some of the first steps taken by this prince seemed to encourage those hopes, as he appeared desirous of assuming the character and office of an arbitrator, in order to accommodate matters between the church and the Puritans[e]. But these expecta-

☞ [d] In a general assembly holden at Edinburgh, in 1590, this prince is said to have made the following public declaration: "I praise God that I was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be the king of the sincerest (i. e. *purest*) kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keep pasche and yule (i. e. Easter and Christmas). What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings (i. e. *the elevation of the host*). I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort your people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall do the same." Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 256.

☞ [e] The religious disputes between the church and the puritans induced James to appoint a conference between the two parties at Hampton-Court, at which nine bishops, and as many dignitaries of the church, appeared on one side, and four puritan ministers on the other. The king himself took a considerable part in the controversy against the latter; and this was an occupation well adapted to his taste; for nothing could be more pleasing to this royal pedant, than to dictate magisterially to an assembly of divines upon points of faith and discipline, and to receive the applause of these holy men for his superior zeal and learning. The conference continued three days. On the first day, it was managed between the king and the bishops and deans, to whom James proposed some objections against certain expressions in the liturgy, and a few alterations in the ritual of the church; in consequence of which, some slight alterations were made. On the two following days, the puritans were admitted, whose proposals and remonstrances may be seen in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. Dr. Warner, in his Ecclesiastical History of England, observes, that this author must be read with caution, on account of his unfairness and partiality: why therefore did he not take his account of the Hampton-Court conference from a better source? The different accounts of the opposite parties, and more particularly those published by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, on one hand, and Patrick Galloway, a Scottish writer, on the other (both of whom were present at the conference), must be carefully consulted, in order to our forming a proper idea of these theological transac-

CENT. XVII. tions soon vanished; and, under his government, affairs assumed a new aspect. As the desire of unlimited power and authority was his reigning passion, so all his measures, whether of a civil or religious nature, were calculated to answer the purposes of his ambition. The presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government seemed less favorable to his views than the episcopal hierarchy, as the former exhibits a kind of republic, which is administered by various rules of equal authority, while the latter approaches much nearer to the spirit and genius of monarchy. The very name of a republic, synod, or council, was odious to James, who dreaded every thing that had a popular aspect; hence he distinguished the bishops with peculiar marks of his favor, extended their authority, increased their prerogatives, and publicly adopted and inculcated the following maxim, 'No bishop, no king.' At the same time, as the church of England had not yet abandoned the Calvinistical doctrines of predestination and grace, he also adhered to them for some time, and gave his theological representatives, in the synod of Dordrecht, an order to join in the condemnation of the sentiments of Arminius, in relation to these deep and intricate points. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of remarkable gravity [f],

tions. James at least obtained, on this occasion, the applause he had in view. The archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) said, that "undoubtedly his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit;" and Bancroft, falling on his knees, with his eyes raised to ——— James, expressed himself thus: "I protest, my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ's time has not been."

☞ [f] The earl of Clarendon says, in his History of the Rebellion, that "Abbot was a man of very morose manners, and of "a very sour aspect, which at that time was called *gravity*." If, in general, we strike a medium between what Clarendon and Neal say of this prelate, we shall probably arrive at the true knowlege of his character. See the History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 88; and Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 243. It is certain, that nothing can be more unjust and partial than Clarendon's account of this eminent prelate, particularly when he says, that 'he neither understood nor regarded the consti-

and of eminent zeal both for civil and religious liberty, whose lenity toward their ancestors the Puritans still

tution of the church.' But it is too much the custom of this writer, and others of his stamp, to give the denomination of latitudinarian indifference to that charity, prudence, and moderation, by which alone the best interests of the church (though not the personal views of many of its ambitious members) can be established upon firm and permanent foundations. Abbot would have been reckoned a good churchman by some, if he had breathed that spirit of despotism and violence, which, being essentially incompatible with the spirit and character of a people, not only free, but jealous of their liberty, has often endangered the church, by exciting that resentment which always renders opposition excessive. Abbot was so far from being indifferent about the constitution of the church, or inclined to the presbyterian discipline (as the noble author affirms), that it was by his zeal and dexterity that the clergy of Scotland, who had refused to admit the bishops as moderators in their synods, were brought to a more tractable temper, and affairs put into such a situation as afterwards produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It is true, that Abbot's zeal in this affair was conducted with great prudence and moderation; and it was by these that his zeal was rendered successful. Nor have these his transactions in Scotland, where he went as chaplain to the lord-treasurer Dunbar, been sufficiently attended to by historians: they even seem to have been entirely unknown to some, who have pretended to depreciate the conduct and principles of this virtuous and excellent prelate. King James, who had been so zealous a presbyterian in appearance before his accession to the crown of England, had scarcely set his foot out of Scotland, when he conceived the design of restoring the ancient form of episcopal government in that kingdom; and it was Abbot's conduct there that brought him to that high favor with the king, which, in a short time, raised him from the deanery of Winchester to the see of Canterbury. For it was by Abbot's mild and prudent counsels, that Dunbar procured that famous act of the general assembly of Scotland, by which it was provided, "that "the king should have the calling of all general assemblies, that "the bishops (or their deputies) should be perpetual moderators "of the diocesan synods, that no excommunication should be "pronounced without their approbation, that all presentations of "benefices should be made by them, that the deprivation or "suspension of ministers should belong to them, that the visita- "tion of the diocese should be performed by the bishop or his "deputy only, and that the bishop should be moderator of all "conventions for exercisings or *prophesyings* (i. e. preaching) "within their bounds." See Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland, p. 588, 589. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 381, 382; and above all Speed's History of Great Britain, book x. The writers who seem the least disposed to

CENT. XVII. celebrate in the highest strains [g], used his utmost endeavours to confirm the king in the principles of Calvinism, to which he himself was thoroughly attached. But scarcely had the British divines returned from the synod of Dordrecht, and given an account of the laws that had been enacted, and the doctrines that had been established by that famous assembly, when the king, and the greatest part of the episcopal clergy, discovered, in the strongest terms, their dislike of these proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminius, relating to the divine decrees, preferable to those of Gomar and of Calvin [h]. This sudden change in the theological opinions of the court and clergy, was certainly owing to a variety of reasons, as will appear evident to those who have any acquaintance with the spirit and transactions of these times. The principal one, if we are not deceived,

speak favorably of this wise and good prelate, bear testimony, nevertheless, to his eminent piety, his exemplary conversation, and his inflexible probity and integrity; and it may be said with truth, that, if his moderate measures had been pursued, the liberties of England would have been secured, popery discountenanced, and the church prevented from running into those excesses which afterwards proved so injurious to it. If Abbot's candor failed him on any occasion, it was in the representations, which his rigid attachment, not to the discipline, but to the doctrinal tenets of Calvinism, led him to give of the Arminian doctors. There is a remarkable instance of this in a letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated at Lambeth the 1st of June, 1613, and occasioned by the arrival of Grotius in England, who had been expressly sent from Holland, by the Remonstrants, or Arminians, to mitigate the king's displeasure and antipathy against that party. In this letter, the archbishop represents Grotius (with whom he certainly was not worthy to be named, either in point of learning, sagacity, or judgement) as a pedant, and mentions, with a high degree of complacency and approbation, the absurd and impertinent judgement of some civilians and divines, who called this immortal ornament of the republic of letters, a *smatterer* and a *simple fellow*. See Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 459.

[g] See Wood's Athenæ Oxoniens. tom. i. p. 583.—Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. ch. iv. p. 242.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i.

[h] See Heylin's History of the Five Articles.—Neal, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 117. The latter author tells us, that the following

must be sought in the plans of a farther reformation of the church of England, which were proposed by

verses were made in England, with a design to pour contempt on the synod, and to turn its proceedings into ridicule:

"Dordrechti Synodus, nodus; chorus integer, æger;
"Conventus, ventus; sessio, stramen. Amen *!"

With respect to James, those who are desirous of forming a just idea of the character, proceedings, and theological fickleness and inconstancy of that monarch, must peruse the writers of English history, more especially Larrey and Rapin. The majority of these writers tell us, that, toward the close of his life, James, after having deserted from the Calvinists to the Arminians, began to discover a strong propensity toward popery; and they affirm positively, that he entertained the most ardent desire of bringing about an union between the churches of England and Rome. In this, however, these writers seem to have gone too far; for, though many of the proceedings of this injudicious prince justly deserve the sharpest censure, yet it is both rash and unjust to accuse him of a design to introduce popery into England. It is not to be believed, that a prince, who aspired to arbitrary power and uncontrolled dominion, could ever have entertained a thought of submitting to the yoke of the Roman pontiff †. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that, toward the end of his reign, James began to have less aversion to the doctrines and rites of the Romish church, and permitted certain religious observances, that were conformable to the spirit of that church, to be used in England. This conduct was founded upon a manner of reasoning, which he had learned from several bishops of his time,—that the primitive church is the model which all Christian churches ought to imitate in doctrine and worship: that, in proportion as any church approaches to this original standard of truth and purity, it must

☞ * It would be a difficult, and indeed an impracticable task, to justify all the proceedings of this synod; and it is much to be wished, that they had been more conformable to the spirit of Christian charity, than the representations of history, impartially weighed, shew them to have been. We are not, however, to conclude, from the insipid monkish lines here quoted by Dr. Mosheim, that the transactions and decisions of that synod were universally condemned or despised in England. It had its partisans in the established church, as well as among the Puritans: and its decisions, in point of doctrine, were looked upon by many, and not without reason, as agreeable to the tenor of the book of articles established by law in the church of England.

† This remark is confuted by fact, observation, and the perpetual contradictions that are observable in the conduct of men: besides, see the note [i].

CENT. XVII. several eminent ecclesiastics, whose intention was to bring it to as near a resemblance as was possible of the primitive church; and every one knows, that the peculiar doctrines to which the victory was assigned by the synod were absolutely unknown in the first ages of the Christian church[i]. Be that as it may, this change was very injurious to the Puritans; for, the king being indisposed to the opinions and insti-

become proportionably pure and perfect; and that the Romish church retained more of the spirit and manner of the primitive church than the Puritan or Calvinist churches. ☞ Of these three propositions, the two first are undoubtedly true, and the last is evidently and demonstrably false. Besides, this makes nothing to the argument: for, as James had a manifest aversion to the Puritans, it could, in his eyes, be no very great recommendation of the Romish church, that it surpassed that of the Puritans in doctrine and discipline.

☞ [i] Dr. Mosheim has annexed the following note to this passage: "Perhaps the king entered into these ecclesiastical proceedings with the more readiness, when he reflected on the civil commotions and tumults that an attachment to the Presbyterian religion had occasioned in Scotland. There are also some circumstances that intimate plainly enough, that James, before his accession to the crown of England, was very far from having an aversion to popery." Whoever, indeed, looks into the Historical View of the Negociations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617, extracted from the manuscript State-Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes and Anthony Bacon, Esq., and published in 1749 by the learned and judicious Dr. Birch, will be persuaded, that, about the year 1595, this fickle and unsteady prince had really formed an intention of embracing the faith of Rome. See, in the curious collection now mentioned, the postscript of a letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the lord high treasurer, dated the 20th of December, 1595. We learn also, from the Memoirs of Sir Ralph Winwood, that, in 1596, James sent Mr. Ogilvie, a Scotish baron, into Spain, to assure his catholic majesty, that he was then ready and resolved to embrace popery, and to propose an alliance with that king and the pope against the queen of England. See State Tracts, vol. i. p. 1. See also an extract of a letter from Tobie Matthew, D.D. dean of Durham, to the lord-treasurer Burghley, containing an information of Scotch affairs, in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 201. Above all, see Harris' Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James I., p. 29, note (N). This last writer may be added to Larrey and Rapin, who have exposed the pliability and inconsistency of this self-sufficient monarch.

tutions of Calvinism, those sectaries were left without defence, and exposed anew to the animosity and hatred of their adversaries, which had been, for some time, suspended, but now broke out with redoubled vehemence, and at length kindled a religious war, whose consequences were deplorable beyond expression. In 1625 this prince died, of whom it may be observed, that he was the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached; the most inflexible and ardent patron of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been highly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the constitution of England, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled and fluctuating state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds.

The state of the church of England under Charles I.

XX. His son and successor Charles, who had imbibed his political and religious principles, had nothing so much at heart as to bring to perfection what his father had left unfinished. All the exertions of his zeal, and the whole tenor of his administration, were directed toward the three following objects: "The extending the royal prerogative, and "raising the power of the crown above the authority "of the law—the reduction of all the churches in "Great Britain and Ireland under the jurisdiction of "bishops, whose government he looked upon as of "divine institution, and also as the most adapted to "guard the privileges and majesty of the throne—"and, lastly, the suppression of the opinions and "institutions that were peculiar to Calvinism, and "the modeling of the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, "and polity of the church of England, after the spirit "and constitution of the primitive church." The person whom the king chiefly intrusted with the execution of this arduous plan, was William Laud, bishop of London, who was raised, in 1633, to the see of Canterbury, and exhibited in these high sta-

CENT. XVII. tions a mixed character, composed of great qualities and great defects. The voice of justice must celebrate his fortitude, his erudition, his zeal for the sciences, and his munificence and liberality to men of letters; and, at the same time, even charity must acknowlege, with regret, his inexcusable imprudence, his excessive superstition, his rigid attachment to the sentiments, rites, and institutions of the ancient church, which made him behold the Puritans and Calvinists with horror[k], and that violent spirit of animosity and persecution which discovered itself in the whole course of his ecclesiastical administration[l]. This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, which prudence employs in the prosecution of unpopular schemes. He carried things with a high hand: when he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation; he loaded the Puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction; he publicly rejected, in 1625, the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination, and, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of Abbot, substituted the Arminian system in its place[m]; he revived many religious ceremonies,

[k] See Wood's Athenæ Oxoniens. tom. ii. p. 55.—Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud.—Clarendon's History, vol. i.

[l] "Sincere he undoubtedly was (says Mr. Hume), and, however misguided, actuated by religious principles in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprises with such warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favorable to the general happiness of human society."

[m] See Mich. le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII. tom. v. p. 262.

☞ This expression may lead the uninformed reader into a mistake, and make him imagine that Laud had caused the Calvinistical doctrine of the xxxix Articles to be abrogated, and the tenets of Arminius to be substituted in their place. It may therefore be proper to set this matter in a clearer light. In 1625, Laud wrote a small treatise to prove the orthodoxy of the Arminian doctrines; and, by his credit with the duke of Buckingham, had Arminian and anti-puritanical chaplains placed

which, though stamped with the sanction of antiquity, were nevertheless marked with the turpitude

about the king. This step increased the debates between the Calvinistical and Arminian doctors, and produced the warmest animosities and dissensions. To calm these, the king issued out a proclamation, dated the 14th of January, 1626, the literal tenor of which was, in truth, more favorable to the Calvinists than to the Arminians, though, by the manner in which it was interpreted and executed by Laud, it was turned to the advantage of the latter. In this proclamation it was said expressly, "that his "majesty would admit no innovations in the *doctrine*, discipline, "or government of the church;" (N. B. *The doctrine of the church, previously to this, was Calvinistical,*) "and therefore "charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to "publish or maintain, in preaching or writing, any *new inventions* or *opinions*, contrary to the said doctrine and discipline "established by law, &c." It was certainly a very singular instance of Laud's indecent partiality, that this proclamation was employed to suppress the books that were expressly written in the defence of the xxxix Articles, while the writings of the Arminians, who certainly opposed these articles, were publicly licensed. I do not here enter into the merits of the cause; I only speak of the tenor of the proclamation, and the manner of its execution.

This manner of proceeding shewed how difficult and arduous a thing it is to change systems of doctrine established by law, since neither Charles, who was by no means diffident of his authority, nor Laud, who was far from being timorous in the use and abuse of it, attempted to reform articles of faith, that stood in direct opposition to the Arminian doctrines, which they were now promoting by the warmest encouragements, and which were daily gaining ground under their protection. Instead of reforming the xxxix Articles, which step would have met with great opposition from the house of commons, and from a considerable part of the clergy and laity, who were still warmly attached to Calvinism, Laud advised the king to have these articles reprinted, with an ambiguous declaration prefixed to them, which might tend to silence or discourage the reigning controversies between the Calvinists and Arminians, and thus secure to the latter an unmolested state, in which they would daily find their power growing under the countenance and protection of the court. This declaration, which, in most editions of the Common Prayer, is still to be found at the head of the articles, is a most curious piece of political theology; and, if it had not borne hard upon the right of private judgement, and been evidently designed to favor one party, though it carried the aspect of a perfect neutrality, it might have been looked upon as a wise and provident measure to secure the tranquillity of the church; for, in the tenor of this declaration, precision was sacrificed to prudence and ambiguity; and even contradictions were preferred to con-

CENT. XVII. of superstition, and had been on that account justly abrogated; he forced bishops upon the Scots, who

sistent, clear, and positive decisions, that might have fomented dissensions and discord. The declaration seemed to favor the Calvinists, since it prohibited the affixing any new sense to any article; it also in effect favored the Arminians, as it ordered all curious search about the contested points to be laid aside, and these disputes to be shut up in God's promises, as they are set forth to us in the holy scriptures, and in the general meaning of the articles of the church of England according to them. But what was singularly preposterous in this declaration was, its being designed to favor the Arminians, and yet prohibiting expressly any person, either in sermons or writings, from giving his own sense or comment as the meaning of the article, and ordering every one, on the contrary, to take each article in its literal and grammatical sense, and to submit to it in the full and plain meaning thereof; for certainly, if the 17th article has a plain, literal, and grammatical meaning, it is a meaning unfavorable to Arminianism; and bishop Burnet was obliged afterwards to acknowlege, that, without enlarging the sense of the articles, the Arminians could not subscribe them consistently with their opinions, or without violating the demands of common candor and sincerity. See Burnet's remarks on the examination of his exposition, &c. p. 3.

This renders it probable, that the declaration now mentioned (in which we see no royal signature, no attestation of any officer of the crown, no date, in short no mark to shew where, when, or by what authority it was issued out) was not composed in the reign of king Charles. Burnet, indeed, was of opinion, that it was composed in that reign to support the Arminians, who, when they were charged with departing from the true sense of the articles, answered, "that they took the articles in their literal and grammatical sense, and therefore did not prevaricate." But this reasoning does not appear conclusive to the acute and learned author of the Confessional. He thinks it more probable that the declaration was composed, and first published, in the latter part of king James' reign; for though, says he, there be no evidence that James ever turned Arminian in principle, yet this was the party that adhered to him in his measures, and which it became necessary for him on that account to humor, and to render respectable in the eyes of the people by every expedient that might not bring any reflexion on his own consistency. "And whoever (continues this author) considers the quibbling and equivocal terms in which this instrument is drawn, will, I am persuaded, observe the distress of a man divided between his principles and his interests, that is, of a man exactly in the situation of king James I. in the three last years of his reign." It is likely then, that this declaration was only republished at the head of the articles, which were reprinted by the order of Charles I.

were zealously attached to the discipline and ecclesiastical polity of Geneva, and had shewn, on all occasions, the greatest reluctance against an episcopal government; and, lastly, he gave many, and very plain intimations, that he looked upon the Romish church, that all its errors, as more pure, more holy, and preferable upon the whole to those Protestant churches which were not subject to the jurisdiction of bishops. By these his unpopular sentiments and violent measures, Laud drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general. Hence, in 1644, he was brought before the public tribunals of justice, declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head on a scaffold; which sentence was accordingly executed.

After the death of Laud, the dissensions that had reigned for a long time between the king and parliament, grew still more violent, and rose at length to so great a height, that they could not be extinguished but by the blood of that excellent prince. The great council of the nation, heated by the violent suggestions of the Puritans and Independents [n], abolished episcopal government; condemned and abrogated every thing in the ecclesiastical establishment that was contrary to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of Geneva; turned the vehemence of their opposition against the king himself, and, having brought him into their power by the fate of arms, accused him of treason against the majesty of the nation; and, in 1649, while the eyes of Europe were fixed with astonishment on this strange spectacle, ordered him to be decapitated on a public scaffold. Such are the calamities that flow from religious zeal without knowlege, from that enthusiasm and bigotry which inspire a blind and immoderate attachment to the external unessential parts of religion, and to certain doctrines ill-understood! These broils and tumults tended also unhappily to confirm

[n] The origin of this sect has been already mentioned.

CENT. XVII. the truth of an observation often made, that all religious sects, while they are kept under and oppressed, are remarkable for inculcating the duties of moderation, forbearance, and charity toward those who dissent from them; but, as soon as the scenes of persecution are removed, and they in their turn arrive at power and pre-eminence, they forget their own precepts and maxims, and leave both the recommendation and practice of charity to those who groan under their yoke. Such, in reality, was the behaviour of the Puritans during their transitory exaltation; they shewed as little clemency and equity to the bishops and other patrons of episcopacy, as they had received from them when the reins of government were in their hands [o].

The Independents.

XXI. The Independents, who have been just mentioned among the promoters of civil discord in England, are generally represented by the British writers in a much worse light than the Presbyterians or Calvinists. They are commonly accused of various enormities, and they are even charged with the crime of parricide, as having borne a principal part in the death of the king. But whoever will be at the pains of examining, with impartiality and attention, the writings of that sect, and their confession of faith, must soon perceive, that many crimes have been imputed to them without foundation, and will probably be induced to think, that the bold attempts of the civil Independents (i. e. of those warm republicans who were the declared enemies of monarchy, and wished to extend the liberty of the people beyond all bounds of wisdom and prudence) have been unjustly laid to the charge of those Independents whose principles were merely of a religious kind [p]. The

[o] Beside Clarendon and the other writers of English history already mentioned, see Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. and iii.

[p] This sect is of recent date, and still subsists in England; there is, nevertheless, not one, either of the ancient or modern sects of Christians, that is less known, or has been more loaded

religious Independents derived their denomination from the following principle, which they held in

with groundless aspersions and reproaches. The most eminent English writers, not only among the patrons of episcopacy, but even among those very Presbyterians with whom those sectaries are now united, have thrown out against them the bitterest accusations and severest invectives that the warmest indignation could invent. They have not only been represented as delirious, mad, fanatical, illiterate, factious, and ignorant both of natural and revealed religion, but also as abandoned to all kinds of wickedness and sedition, and as the only authors of the odious parricide committed on the person of Charles I *. And as the writers who have given these representations, are considered by foreigners as the best and most authentic narrators of the transactions that passed in their own country, and are therefore followed as the surest guides, the Independents appear, almost every where, under the most unfavorable aspect. It must indeed be candidly acknowleged, that, as every class and order of men consist of persons of very different characters and qualities, the independent sect has been likewise dishonored by several turbulent, factious, profligate, and flagitious members. But if it be a constant maxim with the wise and prudent, not to judge of the spirit and principles of a sect from the actions or expressions of a handful of its members, but from the manners, customs, opinions, and behaviour of the generality of those who compose it, from the writings and discourses of its learned men, and from its public and avowed forms of doctrine, and confessions of faith, I make no doubt that, by this rule of estimating matters, the Independents will appear to have been unjustly loaded with so many accusations and reproaches.

We shall take no notice of the invidious and severe animadversions that have been made upon this religious community by Clarendon, Echard, Parker, and so many other writers. To set this whole matter in the clearest and most impartial light, we shall confine ourselves to the account of the Independents given by a writer, justly celebrated by the English themselves, and who, though a foreigner, is generally supposed to have had an accurate knowlege of the British nation, its history, parties, sects, and revolutions. This writer is Rapin de Thoyras, who (in the

* Durell, (whom nevertheless Louis de Moulin, the most zealous defender of the Independents, commends on account of his ingenuity and candor), in his Historia Rituum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, cap. i. p. 4, expresses himself thus: "Fateor, si atrocis illius tragœdiæ tot actus fuerint, quot ludicrarum esse solent, postremum fere Independentium fuisse;—adeo ut non acute magis, quam vere, dixerit L'Estrangius noster, Regem primo à Presbyterianis interemtum, Carolum deinde ab Independentibus interfectum.

CENT. XVII. common with the Brownists;——that every Christian congregation ought to be governed by its own

twenty-first book of his History of England) represents the Independents under such horrid colors, that, were his portrait just, they would not deserve to enjoy the light of the sun, or to breathe the free air of Britain, much less to be treated with indulgence and esteem by those who have the cause of virtue at heart. Let us now examine the account which this illustrious historian gives of this sect. He declares, in the first place, that, notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to trace out the true origin of it, his inquiries had been entirely fruitless; his words may be thus translated: "After all my researches, I have not been able to discover, precisely, the origin of the Independent sect, or faction." It is very surprising to hear a man of learning, who had employed seventeen years in composing the History of England, and had admittance to so many rich and famous libraries, express his ignorance of a matter, about which it was so easy to acquire ample information. Had he only looked into the work of the learned Hornbeck, entituled, Summa Controversiarum, lib. x. p. 775, he would have found, in a moment, what he had been so long and so laboriously seeking in vain. Rapin proceeds to the doctrines and opinions of the Independents, and begins this part of his work by a general declaration of their tendency to throw the nation into disorder and combustion. He says, "It is at least certain, that their principles were * very proper to put the kingdom in a flame; and this they did effectually." What truth may be in this assertion, will be seen by what follows. Their sentiments concerning government were, if we are to believe this writer, of the most pernicious kind, since, according to him, they wanted to overturn the monarchy, and to establish a democracy in its place: his words are "With regard to the state, they abhorred monarchy, and approved only a republican government." I will not pretend to deny, that there were among the Independents several persons who were unfriendly to a kingly government; persons of this kind were to be found among the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and all the other religious sects and communities that flourished in England during this tumultuous period; but I want to see it proved, in an evident and satisfactory manner, that these republican principles were embraced by all the Independents, and formed one of the distinguishing characteristics of that sect. There is, at least, no such thing to be found in their public writings. They declared, on the contrary, in a public memorial drawn up by them in 1647, that, as magistracy in general is the ordinance of God, "they do not disapprove any form of civil government, but do freely acknowlege, that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and also a

* Tout-à-fait propres à mettre l'Angleterre en combustion.

laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, pres-

good accommodation unto men." I omit the mention of several other circumstances which unite to prove that the Independents were far from looking with abhorrence on a monarchical government.

Their sentiments of religion, according to Rapin, were highly absurd, since he represents their principles as entirely opposite to those of all other religious communities: "As to religion, (says he) their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world." With respect to this accusation, it may be proper to observe, that there are extant two Confessions of Faith, one of the English Independents in Holland, and another drawn up by the principal members of that community in England. The former was composed by John Robinson, the founder of the sect, and was published at Leyden in 1619, under the following title: "Apologia pro Exulibus Anglis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur:" the latter appeared at London, for the first time, in 1658, and was thus entitled: "A declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto by their Elders and Messengers, in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658. Hornbeck gave, in 1659, a Latin translation of this Declaration, and subjoined it to his Epistolæ ad Duræum de Independentismo. It appears evidently from these two public and authentic pieces, not to mention other writings of the Independents, that they differed from the Presbyterians or Calvinists in no single point of any consequence, except that of ecclesiastical government. To put this matter beyond all doubt, we have only to attend to the following passage in Robinson's Apology for the English Exiles, p. 7, 11, where that founder of the Independent sect expresses his own private sentiments, and those of his community, in the plainest manner: "Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum ecclesiis reformatis Belgicis in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis earundem ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in harmoniâ confessionum fidei, parati simus subscribere.—Ecclesias reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et, quantum in nobis est, colimus." It clearly appears from this declaration, that, instead of differing totally from all other Christian societies, it may rather be said of the independents, that they perfectly agreed with the far greater part of the reformed churches. To shew, as he imagines, by a striking example the absurdity of their religion and worship, our eminent historian tells us, that they not only reject all kind of ecclesiastical government, but, moreover, allow all their members promiscuously, and without exception, to perform in public the pastoral functions, i. e. to preach, pray, and expound the Scriptures; his words are, "They were not only averse to epi-

CENT. XVII. byteries, or any ecclesiastical assembly composed of the deputies from different churches [q]. It is

scopacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy" (this charge is true, but it may equally be brought against the Presbyterians, Brownists, Anabaptists, and all the various sects of Non-conformists), "but they would not so much as endure ordinary ministers in the church. They maintained, that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren, and interpret the Scriptures according to the talents with which God had endowed him. So with them every one preached, prayed, admonished, interpreted the Scriptures, without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors." This whole charge is evidently false and groundless. The Independents have, and always have had, *fixed* and *regular* ministers, approved by their people; nor do they allow to teach in public every person who thinks himself qualified for that important office. The celebrated historian has here confounded the Independents with the Brownists, who, as is well known, permitted all to pray and preach in public without distinction. We shall not enlarge upon the other mistakes into which he has fallen on this subject; but only observe, that if so eminent a writer, and one so well acquainted with the English nation, has pronounced such an unjust sentence against this sect, we may the more easily excuse an inferior set of authors, who have loaded them with groundless accusations.

It will, however, be alleged, that, whatever may have been the religious sentiments and discipline of the Independents, innumerable testimonies concur in proving, that they were chargeable with the death of Charles I. and many will consider this single circumstance as a sufficient demonstration of the impiety and depravity of the whole sect. I am well aware, indeed, that many of the most eminent and respectable English writers have given the Independents the denomination of Regicides; and if, by the term Independents, they mean those licentious republicans, whose dislike of a monarchical form of government carried them to the most pernicious and extravagant lengths, I grant that this denomination is well applied. But if, by this term, we are to understand a religious sect, the ancestors of those who still bear the same title in England, it appears very questionable to me, whether the unhappy fate of the worthy prince above-mentioned ought to be imputed entirely to that set of men. They who affirm that the Independents were the only authors of the death of king Charles, must mean one of these two things, either that the regicides were animated and set on by the seditious doctrines of that sect, and the violent suggestions of its members, or that all who were concerned in this atrocious deed were themselves Independents, zealously attached to the religious community now under consideration. Now it may be proved with the clearest evidence,

in this their notion of ecclesiastical government, that the difference, between them and the Presbyterians,

that neither was the case. There is nothing in the doctrines of this sect, so far as they are known to me, that seems in the least adapted to excite men to such a horrid deed; nor does it appear from the history of those times, that the Independents were a whit more exasperated against Charles, than were the Presbyterians. And as to the latter supposition, it is far from being true, that all those who were concerned in bringing this unfortunate prince to the scaffold were Independents, since we learn from the best English writers, and from the public declarations of Charles II., that this violent faction was composed of persons of different sects. That there were Independents among them may be easily conceived. After all, this matter will be best unraveled by the English writers, who know best in what sense the term is used, when it is applied to those who brought Charles I. to the block *.

☞ * Dr. Mosheim's defence of the Independents is certainly specious; but he has not sufficiently distinguished the times; and he has, perhaps, in defending them, strained too far that equitable principle, that we must not impute to a sect any principles that are not contained in, or deducible from, their religious system. This maxim does not entirely answer here the purpose to which it is applied. The religious system of a sect may be in itself pacific and innocent, while incidental circumstances, or certain associations of ideas, may render that sect more turbulent and restless than others, or at least involve it in political factions and broils. Such perhaps was the case of the Independents at certain periods, and more especially at the period now under consideration. When we consider their religious form of government, we shall see evidently, that a principle of analogy (which influences the sentiments and imaginations of men much more than is generally supposed) must naturally have led the greatest part of them to republican notions of civil government; and it is farther to be observed, that, from a republican government, they must have expected much more protection and favor, than from a kingly one. When these two points are considered, together with their situation under the reign of Charles I. when the government was unhinged, when affairs were in great confusion, when the minds of men were suspended upon the issue of the national troubles, and when the eager spirit of party, nourished by hope, made each faction expect that the chaos would end in some settled system, favorable to their respective views, sentiments, and passions; we may be induced to think, that the Independents, at that time, were much more tumultuous and republican than the sect which bears that denomination in our times. The reader who would form just ideas of the matter of fact, must examine the relations given by the writers of both parties. See particularly the Histories of Clarendon, Neal, Burnet, and Hume.

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On inquiring, with particular attention, into the causes of the odium that has been cast upon the Independents, and of the heavy accusations and severe invectives with which they have been loaded, I was more peculiarly struck with the three following considerations, which will perhaps furnish a satisfactory account of this matter. In the first place, the denomination is ambiguous, and is not peculiar to any one distinct order of men. For, not to enumerate the other notions that have been annexed to this term, it is sufficient to observe, that it is used sometimes by the English writers to denote those who aim at the establishment of a purely democratical or popular government, in which the body of the people is clothed with the supreme dominion. Such a faction there was in England, composed, in a great measure, of persons of an enthusiastical character and complexion; and to it, no doubt, we are to ascribe those scenes of sedition and misery, whose effects are still justly lamented. The violence and folly that dishonored the proceedings of this tumultuous faction have been, if I mistake not, too rashly imputed to the religious Independents now under consideration, who, with all their defects, were a much better set of men than the party now mentioned. It may be observed, secondly, that almost all the religious sects, which divided the English nation in the reign of Charles I. and more especially under the administration of Cromwell, assumed the denomination of Independents, in order to screen themselves from the reproaches of the public, and to share a part of that popular esteem which the true and genuine Independents had acquired, on account of the regularity of their lives, and the sanctity of their manners. This is confirmed, among other testimonies, by the following passage of a letter from Toland to Le Clerc. "Au commencement tous les sectaires se disoient Independans, parce que ces derniers etoient fort honorés du peuple à cause de leur pieté." See Le Clerc's Biblioth. Univers. et Histor. tom. xxiii. p. ii. p. 506. As this title was of a very extensive signification, and of great latitude, it might thus easily happen, that all the enormities of the various sects that sheltered themselves under it, and several of which were but of short duration, might unluckily be laid to the charge of the true Independents. But it must be particularly remarked, in the third place, that the usurper Cromwell preferred the Independents to all other religious communities. He looked, with an equal eye of suspicion and fear, upon the presbyterian synods and the episcopal visitations; every thing that looked like an extensive authority, whether it was of a civil or religious nature, excited uneasy apprehensions in the breast of the tyrant; but, in the limited and simple form of ecclesiastical discipline that was adopted by the Independents, he saw nothing that was calculated to alarm his fears. This circumstance was sufficient to render the Independents odious in the eyes of many,

almost entirely the same with those of the church of Geneva. The founder of this sect was John Robinson, a man who had much of the solemn piety of the times, and was master of a congregation of Brownists that had settled at Leyden. This well-meaning man, perceiving the defects that reigned in the discipline

who would be naturally disposed to extend their abhorrence of Cromwell to those who were the objects of his favor and protection.

q The Independents were undoubtedly so called from their maintaining that all Christian congregations were so many independent religious societies, which had a right to be governed by their own laws, without being subject to any ulterior or foreign jurisdiction. Robinson, the founder of the sect, makes express use of this term in explaining his doctrine relating to ecclesiastical government; "Cœtum quemlibet particularem (says he, in his Apologia, cap. v. p. 22,) esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et *independenter* (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo." It may possibly have been from this very passage that the title of *Independent* was originally derived. The disciples of Robinson did not reject it; nor indeed is there any thing shocking in the title, when it is understood in a manner conformable to the sentiments of those to whom it is applied. It was certainly utterly unknown in England before the year 1640; at least it is not once mentioned in the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions that were drawn up, during that year, in the synods or visitations holden by the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and other prelates, in which canons all the various sects that then existed in England are particularly mentioned. See Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, vol. iv. cap. v. p. 548, where are the "constitutions and canons ecclesiastical treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the bishops and clergy, in their several synods." An. MDCXL. It is true, that not long after this period, and more particularly from the year 1642, we find this denomination very frequently in the English annals. The English Independents were so far from being displeased with it, that they assumed it publicly in a piece they published in their own defence in 1644, under the following title; Apologetical Narration of the Independents. But when, in process of time, a great variety of sects, as has been already observed, sheltered themselves under the cover of this extensive denomination, and even seditious subjects, who aimed at nothing less than the death of their sovereign and the destruction of the government, employed it as a mask to hide their deformity, then the true and genuine Independents renounced this title, and substituted a less odious appellation for it, calling themselves *Congregational Brethren*, and their religious assemblies *Congregational Churches*.

CENT. XVII. of Brown, and in the spirit and temper of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and in modeling anew the society, in such a manner as to render it less odious to its adversaries, and less liable to the just censure of those true Christians, who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment. The Independents, accordingly, were much more commendable than the Brownists in two respects. They surpassed them both in the moderation of their sentiments, and the order of their discipline. They did not, like Brown, pour forth bitter and uncharitable invectives against the churches that were governed by rules entirely different from theirs, nor pronounce them, on that account, unworthy of the Christian name. On the contrary, though they considered their own form of ecclesiastical government as of divine institution, and as originally introduced by the authority of the apostles, or by the apostles themselves, yet they had candor and charity enough to acknowlege, that true religion and solid piety might flourish in those communities, which were under the jurisdiction of bishops, or the government of synods and presbyteries. They were also much more attentive than the Brownists to the establishment of a regular ministry in their communities; for, while the latter allowed promiscuously all ranks and orders of men to teach in public, and to perform the other pastoral functions, the Independents had, and still have, a certain number of ministers, chosen respectively by the congregations where they are fixed; nor is any person among them permitted to speak in public, before he has submitted to a proper examination of his capacity and talents, and has been approved by the heads of the congregation. This community, which was originally formed in Holland in 1610, made at first but a very small progress in England[qq]; it worked its way slowly, and in a

☞ [qq] In 1616, Mr. Jacob, who had adopted the religious sentiments of Robinson, set up the first Independent or Congregational church in England.

clandestine manner; and its members concealed their principles from public view, to avoid the penal laws that had been enacted against Non-conformists. But during the reign of Charles I. when, amidst the shocks of civil and religious discord, the authority of the bishops and the cause of episcopacy began to decline, and more particularly about the year 1640, the Independents became more courageous, and came forth, with an air of resolution and confidence, to public view. After this period, their affairs took a prosperous turn; and, in a little time, they became so considerable, both by their numbers, and by the reputation they acquired, that they vied in point of pre-eminence and credit, not only with the bishops, but also with the Presbyterians, while these were in the very zenith of their power. This rapid progress of the Independents, no doubt, arose from a variety of causes; among which justice obliges us to reckon the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and sanctity of their manners [r]. During the administration of Cromwell, whose peculiar protection and patronage they enjoyed on more than one account, their credit rose to the greatest height, and their influence and reputation were almost universal; but, after the Restoration, their cause declined, and they fell back gradually into their primitive obscurity. The sect, indeed, still subsisted, but in such a state of dejection and weakness, as engaged them in 1691, under the government of king William, to enter into an association with the Presbyterians residing in and about London, under certain heads of agreement, that tended to the maintenance of their respective institutions [s].

[r] Neal's History, vol. ii. p. 107, 393; vol. viii. p. 141, 276, 303, 437, 549. See also Bohm's Englische Reformations-Historie, p. 794.

[s] From this time they were called *United Brethren*. The heads of agreement that formed and cemented this union are to be found in the second volume of Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings; and they consist of nine articles. The first relates to "Churches and Church Members," in which the

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The state of the church of England under Cromwell.

XXII. While Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government in Great-Britain, all sects, even those

United Ministers, Presbyterians and Independents, declare, among other things, " That each particular church hath a right to choose its own officers, and, being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the Gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself: that, in the administration of church-power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be) to rule and govern, and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the Gospel." In this both Presbyterians and Independents depart from the primitive principles of their respective institutions. Article II. relates to " the Ministry," which they grant to have been instituted by Jesus Christ, " for the gathering, guiding, edifying, and governing of his church." In this article it is farther observed, " that ministers ought to be endued with competent learning, sound judgement, and solid piety; that none are to be ordained to the work of the ministry, but such as are chosen and called thereunto by a particular church;" that, in such a weighty matter, " it is ordinarily requisite, that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations: and that, after such advice, the person thus consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them." Article III. relates to " Censures," and prescribes, first, the admonishing, and, if this prove ineffectual, the excommunication of offending and scandalous members, to be performed by the pastors, with the consent of the brethren. Article IV. concerning the " Communion of Churches," lays it down as a principle, that there is no subordination between particular churches; that they are all equal, and consequently independent; that the pastors, however, of these churches " ought to have frequent meetings, that, by mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord." In Article V. which relates to " Deacons and Ruling Elders," the United Brethren acknowlege, that, " the office of a deacon is of divine appointment, and that it belongs to his office to receive, lay out, and distribute, the stock of the church to its proper uses;" and as there are different sentiments about the office of Ruling Elders, who labor not in word and doctrine, they agree that this difference makes no breach among them. In Article VI. concerning " Occasional Meetings of Ministers," &c. the brethren agree, that it is needful, in weighty and difficult cases, that the ministers of several churches meet together, " in order to be consulted and advised with about such matters;" and that particular churches " ought to have a reverential regard to their judgement so given, and not dissent therefrom without

that dishonored true religion in the most shocking manner by their fanaticism or their ignorance, enjoyed a full and unbounded liberty of professing publicly their respective doctrines. The Episcopalians alone were excepted from this toleration, and received the most severe and iniquitous treatment. The bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and felt, in a particular manner, the heavy hand of oppression. But, though toleration was extended to all other sects and religious communities, yet the Presbyterians and Independents were treated with peculiar marks of distinction and favor. Cromwell, though attached to no one particular sect, gave to the latter extraordinary proofs of his good-will, and augmented their credit and authority, as this seemed the easiest and least exasperating method of setting bounds to the ambition of the Presbyterians, who aimed at a very high degree of ecclesiastical power [t]. It was during this period of religious anarchy, that

apparent grounds from the word of God." Article VII. which relates to "the Demeanour of the Brethren towards the Civil Magistrate," prescribes obedience to, and prayers for God's protection and blessing upon, their rulers. In Article VIII. which relates to a "Confession of Faith," the brethren esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowlege the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and "own either the doctrinal part of the articles of the church of England," or the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, drawn up by the Presbyterians, or the Confession of the Congregational Brethren (i. e. the Independents), to be agreeable to the said rule. Article IX. which concerns the "duty and deportment of the Brethren towards those who are not in communion with them," inculcates charity and moderation. It appears from these articles, that the Independents were led by a kind of necessity to adopt, in many things, the sentiments of the Presbyterians, and to depart thus far from the original principles of their sect.

☞ [t] Soon after Cromwell's elevation, it was resolved by the parliament, at the conclusion of a debate concerning public worship and church-government, that the Presbyterian system should be the established government. The Independents had not yet agreed upon any standard of faith and discipline; and it was only a little before Cromwell's death that they held a synod, by his permission, in order to publish to the world an uniform account of their doctrine and principles.

CENT. XVII. the Fifth-Monarchy-Men arose—a set of wrong-headed and turbulent enthusiasts, who expected Christ's sudden appearance upon earth to establish a new kingdom, and, acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government, and were for turning all things into the most deplorable confusion [u]. It was at this time also, that the Quakers, of whom we propose to give a more particular account [w], and the hot-headed Anabaptists [x], propagated, without restraint, their visionary doctrines. It must likewise be observed, that the Deists, headed by Sidney, Neville, Martin, and Harrington, appeared with impunity, and promoted a kind of religion, which consisted in a few plain precepts, drawn from the dictates of natural reason [y].

The English Antinomians.

XXIII. Among the various religious factions that sprang up in England during this period of confusion and anarchy, we may reckon a certain sect of Presbyterians, who were called by their adversaries *Antino-*

[u] See Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 67.

[w] See the History of the Quakers, in the present volume of this work.

☞ [x] We are not to imagine, by the term hot-headed (*furiosi*), that the Anabaptists resembled the furious fanatics of that name who formerly excited such dreadful tumults in Germany, and more especially at Munster. This was by no means the case; the English Anabaptists differed from their Protestant brethren about the subject and mode of baptism alone, confining the former to grown Christians, and the latter to immersion, or dipping. They were divided into Generals and Particulars, from their different sentiments upon the Arminian controversy. The latter, who were so called from their belief of the doctrines of particular election, redemption, &c. were strict Calvinists, who separated from the Independent congregation at Leyden in 1638. Their confession was composed with a remarkable spirit of modesty and charity. Their preachers were generally illiterate, and were eager in making proselytes of all that would submit to their immersion, without a due regard to their religious principles, or their moral characters. The writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastic fury against all that opposed them. There were, nevertheless, among them some learned and pious persons, who highly disapproved all violent and uncharitable proceedings.

[y] Neal's History, vol. iv. p. 87.

mians, or enemies of the law, and still subsist even in our times. The Antinomians are a more rigid kind of Calvinists, who pervert Calvin's doctrine of absolute decrees to the worst purposes, by drawing from it conclusions highly detrimental to the interests of true religion and virtue. Such is the judgement that the other Presbyterian communities form of this perverse and extravagant sect[z]. Several of the Antinomians (for they are not all precisely of the same mind) look upon it as unnecessary for Christian ministers to exhort their flock to a virtuous practice, and a pious obedience to the divine law, "since they whom God "has elected to salvation, by an eternal and immuta-"ble decree, will, by the irresistible impulse of divine "grace, be led to the practice of piety and virtue; "while those who are doomed by a divine decree to "eternal punishment, will never be engaged, by any "exhortations or admonitions, how affecting soever "they may be, to a virtuous course; nor have they "it in their power to obey the divine law, when the "succours of divine grace are with-holden from them." From these principles they concluded, that the ministers of the Gospel discharged sufficiently their pastoral functions, when they inculcated the necessity of faith in Christ, and proclaimed to their people the blessings of the new covenant. Another, and a still more hideous form of Antinomianism, is that which is exhibited in the opinions of other doctors of that sect[a], who maintain, "That, as the elect cannot fall "from grace or forfeit the divine favor, the wicked "actions they commit, and the violations of the "divine law with which they are chargeable, are not "really sinful, nor are to be considered as instances

[z] See Toland's Letters to Le Clerc, in the periodical work of the latter, entitled, Bibliotheque Universelle et Historique, tom. xxiii. p. 505; and also Hornbeck's Summa Controversiarum, p. 800, 812.

☞ [a] This second Antinomian hypothesis has certainly a still more odious aspect than the first; and it is therefore surprising that our author should use, in the original, these terms; *Alii tantum statuunt, Electos*, &c.

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" of their departing from the law of God; and, con-" sequently, they have no occasion either to confess " their sins, or to break them off by repentance. " Thus adultery, for example, in one of the elect, " though it may appear sinful in the sight of men, " and be considered universally as an enormous " violation of the divine law, yet is not a sin in the " sight of God, because it is one of the essential and " distinctive characters of the elect, that they cannot " do any thing which is either displeasing to God, or " prohibited by the law [b]."

Latitudinarians.

XXIV. The public calamities, that flowed from these vehement and uncharitable disputes about religion, afflicted all wise and good men, and engaged several who were not less eminent for their piety than for their moderation and wisdom, to seek some method of uniting such of the contending parties as were capable of listening to the dictates of charity and reason, or at least of calming their animosities, and persuading them to mutual forbearance. These pacific doctors offered themselves as mediators between the more violent Episcopalians on the one hand, and the more rigid Presbyterians and Independents on the other; and hoped that, when their differences were accommodated, the minor factions would fall of themselves. The contests that reigned between the former turned partly on the forms of church government and public worship, and partly on certain religious tenets, more especially those that were debated

[b] There is an account of the other tenets of the Antinomians, and of the modern disputes that were occasioned by the publication of the posthumous works of Crisp, a flaming doctor of that extravagant and pernicious sect, given by Pierre François le Courayer, in his Examen des Defauts Theologiques, tom. ii. p. 198. Baxter and Tillotson distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Antinomians; and they were also completely refuted by Dr. Williams, in his famous book, entitled Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated. ☞ I have been informed, since the first edition of this history was published, that the book entitled Examen des Defauts Theologiques, which our author supposes to have been written by Dr. Courayer, is the production of another pen.

between the Arminians and Calvinists. To lessen the breach that kept these two great communities at such a distance from each other, the arbitrators, already mentioned, endeavoured to draw them out of their narrow enclosures, to render their charity more extensive, and widen the paths of salvation, which bigotry and party-rage had been laboring to render inaccessible to many good Christians. This noble and truly evangelical method of proceeding procured to its authors the denomination of Latitudinarians [c]. Their views, indeed, were generous and extensive. They were zealously attached to the forms of ecclesiastical government and worship that were established in the church of Ængland, and they recommended episcopacy with all the strength and power of their eloquence; but they did not go so far as to look upon it as of divine institution, or as absolutely and indispensably necessary to the constitution of a Christian church; and hence they maintained, that those who followed other forms of government and worship, were not, on that account, to be excluded from their communion, or to forfeit the title of brethren. As to the doctrinal part of religion, they took the system of the famous Episcopius for their model; and, like him, reduced the fundamental doctrines of Christianity (or those doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation,) to a few points. By this manner of proceeding they shewed, that neither the Episcopalians, who, generally speaking, embraced the sentiments of the Arminians, nor the Presbyterians and Independents, who as generally adopted the doctrine of Calvin, had any reason to oppose each other with such animosity and bitterness, since the subjects of their debates were matters of an indifferent nature, with respect to salvation, and might be variously explained and understood, without any prejudice to their eternal interests. The chief leaders of these Latitudinarians were Hales and

[c] See Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. book ii.

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[d] The life of the ingenious and worthy Mr. Hales was composed in English by M. Des-Maizeaux, and published at London in 1719: it was considerably augmented in the Latin translation of it, which I prefixed to the account of the synod of Dordrecht, drawn from the letters of that great man, and published at Hamburg in 1724. A life of Mr. Hales, written in French, is to be found in the first volume of the French translation of Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation. The life of Chillingworth also was drawn up by Des-Maizeaux in English: and a French translation of it appeared, in 1730, at the head of the excellent book now mentioned, which was also translated into that language, and published at Amsterdam in 1730. Those who are desirous of acquiring a thorough knowlege of the doctrines, government, laws, and present state of the church of England, will do well to read the history of these two men, and more especially to peruse Chillingworth's admirable book already mentioned.

[e] See Rapin's Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories. ☞ See an admirable defence of the latitudinarian divines, in a book entitled, The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England (greatly misunderstood) truly

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The state of the church of England under Charles II. and his successors.

XXV. No sooner was Charles II. re-established on the throne of his ancestors, than the ancient forms of ecclesiastical government and public worship were restored with him, and the bishops reinstated in their dignities and honors. The Non-conformists hoped, that *they* should be allowed to share some part of the honors and revenues of the church; but their expectations were totally disappointed, and the face of affairs changed very suddenly with respect to them; for Charles subjected, to the government of bishops, not only the church of Ireland, but also that of Scotland, a nation which was peculiarly attached to the ecclesiastical discipline and polity of Geneva; and, in 1662, a public law was enacted, by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe the doctrines of the church of England, were entirely excluded from its communion[f]. From this period until the reign of William III. the Non-conformists were in a precarious and changing situation, sometimes involved in calamity and trouble, at others enjoying some intervals of tranquillity and gleams of hope, according to the varying spirit of the court and ministry, but never entirely free from perplexities and fears[g]. But, in 1689, their affairs took a favorable turn, when a bill for the toleration of all protestant dissenters from the church of England, except the Socinians, passed in parliament almost without opposition, and delivered

represented and defended, London, 1670. This book was written by Dr. Fowler, afterwards bishop of Glocester. N.

☞ [f] This was the famous Act of Uniformity, in consequence of which the validity of presbyterian ordination was renounced, the ministrations of the foreign churches were disowned, the terms of conformity rendered more difficult, and raised higher than before the civil wars; and by which (contrary to the manner of proceeding in the times of Elizabeth and Cromwell, both of whom reserved for the subsistence of each ejected clergyman a fifth part of his benefice) no provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings. See Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, tom. iv. p. 573.—Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. ii. p. 190, &c.—Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 358.

[g] See the whole fourth volume of Neal's History.

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them from the penal laws to which they had been subjected by the act of uniformity, and other statutes enacted under the sway of the Stuart family [h]. Nor did the protestant dissenters in England enjoy, alone, the benefits of this act; for it extended also to the Scotish church, which was permitted thereby to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, and was delivered from the jurisdiction of bishops, and from the forms of worship that were annexed to episcopacy. It is from this period that the non-conformists date the liberty and tranquillity they have long been blessed with, and which they still enjoy; but it is also observable, that it is to the transactions carried on during this period, in favor of religious liberty, that we must chiefly impute the multitude of religious sects and factions, that start up from time to time in that free and happy island, and involve its inhabitants in the perplexities of religious division and controversy [i].

The High-church and Non-jurors.

XXVI. In the reign of king William, and in the year 1689, the divisions among the friends of episcopacy ran high, and terminated in that famous schism in the church of England, which has never hitherto been entirely healed. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven of the other bishops [j], all of whom were eminently distinguished both by their learning

[h] This was called the Toleration Act; and it may be seen at length in the Appendix, subjoined to the fourth volume of Neal's History of the Puritans.—☞ It is entitled, An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws. In this bill the Corporation and Test Acts are omitted, and consequently still remain in force. The Socinians are also excepted; but provision is made for Quakers, upon their making a solemn declaration, instead of taking the oaths to the government. This act excuses protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, provided they take the oaths to the government, and subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England.

[i] Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. ii. p. 23.

☞ [j] The other non-juring bishops were Lloyd, bishop of Norwich; Turner, of Ely; Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Frampton, of Glocester; Thomas, of Worcester; Lake, of Chichester, and White, of Peterborough.

and their virtue, deemed it unlawful to take the oath of allegiance to the new king, from a mistaken notion that James II., though banished from his dominions, remained their rightful sovereign. As these scruples were deeply rooted, and no arguments or exhortations could engage these prelates to acknowlege the title of the prince of Orange to the crown of Great Britain, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and their sees were filled by other men of eminent merit[i]. The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new episcopal church, which differed, in some points of doctrine, and certain circumstances of public worship, from the established church. The members of this new religious community were denominated *Non-jurors*, on account of their refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and were also called the *High-Church* party, on account of the high notions they entertained of the dignity and power of the church, and the extent they gave to its prerogatives and jurisdiction. Those, on the other hand, who disapproved this schism, who distinguished themselves by their charity and moderation toward dissenters, and were less ardent in extending the limits of ecclesiastical authority, were denominated *Low-Churchmen*[k]. The bishops who were deprived of their sees, and those who embarked in their cause, maintained openly that

☞ [i] Among these were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland, names that will be ever pronounced with veneration by such as are capable of esteeming well-employed learning and genuine piety, and that will always shine among the brightest ornaments of the church of England.

[k] The denomination of High-church is given certainly, with great propriety, to the Non-jurors, who have very proud notions of church power; but it is commonly used in a more extensive signification, and is applied to all those who, though far from being Non-jurors, or otherwise disaffected to the present happy establishment, yet form pompous and ambitious conceptions of the authority and jurisdiction of the church, and would raise it to an absolute exemption from all human control. Many such are to be found even among those who go under the general denomination of the Low-Church party.

the church was not dependent on the jurisdiction of the king or the parliament, but was subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that consequently the sentence, pronounced against these prelates by the great council of the nation, was destitute both of justice and validity; and that it was only by the decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed. These high notions of the authority and prerogatives of the church were maintained and propagated, with peculiar zeal, by the famous Henry Dodwell, who led the way in this important cause, and who, by his example and abilities, formed a considerable number of champions for its defence. Hence arose a very nice and intricate controversy, concerning the nature, privileges, and authority of the church, which has not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion[1].

☞ [1] Dodwell himself was deprived of his professorship of history, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to king William and queen Mary; and this circumstance, no doubt, augmented the zeal with which he interested himself in the defence of the bishops, who were suspended for the same reason. It was on this occasion that he published his "Cautionary Discourse of Schism, with a particular regard to the case of the Bishops, who are suspended for refusing to take the new oath." This book was fully refuted by the learned Dr. Hody, in 1691, in a work entitled, "The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the new Bishops: or a Treatise out of ecclesiastical History, shewing, that although a bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the church ever made a separation, if the successor was not a heretic;" translated out of an ancient Greek manuscript (among the Baroccian MSS.) in the public library at Oxford. The learned author translated this work afterwards into Latin, and prefixed to it some pieces out of ecclesiastical antiquity, relative to the same subject. Dodwell published, in 1692, an answer to it, which he called, "A Vindication of the deprived Bishops," &c., to which Dr. Hody replied, in a treatise entitled, "The Case of the Sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical Deprivation stated, in reply to the Vindication," &c. The controversy did not end here; for it was extremely difficult to reduce Mr. Dodwell to silence. Accordingly he came forth a third time with his stiff and rigid polemics, and published, in 1695, his Defence of the Vindica-

High-church principles.

XXVII. The Non-jurors, or High-Churchmen, who boast with peculiar ostentation of their orthodoxy, and treat the Low-Church as unsound and schismatical, differ in several things from the members of the episcopal church, in its present establishment; but they are more particularly distinguished by the following principles: 1. That it is never lawful for the people, under any provocation or pretext whatever, to resist the sovereign. This is called in England passive obedience, and is a doctrine warmly opposed by many, who think it both lawful and necessary, in certain circumstances, and in cases of an urgent and momentous nature, to resist the prince for the happiness of the people. They maintain farther, 2. That the hereditary succession to the throne is of divine institution, and therefore can never be interrupted, suspended, or annulled, on any pretext: 3. That the church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature: 4. That, consequently, Sancroft, and the other bishops, deposed by king William III., remained, notwithstanding their deposition, true bishops, to the day of their death; and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property: 5. That these unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities were rebels against the state, as well as schismatics in the church; and that all, therefore, who held communion with them, were also chargeable with rebellion and schism: 6. That this schism, which rends the church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, and that the punishment due to it must fall

tion of the deprived Bishops. The preface which he designed for this work, was at first suppressed, but appeared afterwards under the following title: "The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the independency of the Clergy on the Lay-power, as to those rights of theirs which are purely spiritual, reconciled with our oath of supremacy and the lay-deprivation of the popish Bishops in the beginning of the Reformation." Several other pamphlets were published on the subject of this controversy.

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Theological contests among the Dutch.

XXVIII. It will now be proper to change the scene, and to consider a little the state of the reformed church in Holland. The Dutch Calvinists thought themselves happy after the defeat of the Arminians, and were flattering themselves with the agreeable prospect of enjoying long, in tranquillity and repose, the fruits of their victory, when new scenes of tumult arose from another quarter. Scarcely had they triumphed over the enemies of absolute predestination, when, by an ill hap, they became the prey of intestine disputes, and were divided among themselves in such a deplorable manner, that, during the whole of this century, the United Provinces were a scene of contention, animosity, and strife. It is not necessary to mention all the subjects of these religious quarrels; nor indeed would this be an easy task. We shall therefore pass over in silence the debates of certain divines, who disputed about some particular, though not very momentous, points of doctrine and discipline; such as those of the famous Voet and the learned Des-Marets; as also the disputes of Salmasius, Boxhorn, Voet, and others, concerning usury, ornaments in dress, stage-plays, and other minute points of morality; and the contests of Apollonius, Trigland, and Vedelius, concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion and ecclesiastical discipline, which produced such a flaming division between Frederic Spanheim and John Vander-Wayen. These and other debates of the like nature and importance rather discover the sentiments of certain learned men, concerning some particular points of religion and morality, than exhibit a clear view of the internal state of the Belgic church. The knowlege of this must be derived from those

[m] See Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings, vol. i. p. 30.—Hickes' Memoirs of the Life of John Kettlewell.—Nouveau Diction. Histor. et Crit. at the article Collier.—Ph. Masson, Histoire Critique de la Repub. des Lettres, tom. xiii, p. 298.

controversies alone in which the whole church, or at least the greatest part of its doctors, have been directly concerned.

The Cartesian and Cocceian controversies.

XXIX. Such were the controversies occasioned in Holland by the philosophy of Des-Cartes, and the theological novelties of Cocceius. Hence arose the two powerful and numerous factions, distinguished by the denominations of Cocceians and Voetians, which still subsist, though their debates are now less violent, and their champions somewhat more moderate than they were in former times. The Cocceian theology and the Cartesian philosophy have, indeed, no common features, nor any thing, in their respective tenets and principles, that was in the least adapted to form a connexion between them; and, in consequence, the debates they excited, and the factions they produced, had no natural relation to, or dependence on, each other. It nevertheless so happened, that the respective votaries of these very different sciences formed themselves into one sect; so far at least, that those who chose Cocceius for their guide in theology, took Des-Cartes for their master in philosophy [n]. This will appear less surprising when we consider, that the very same persons who opposed the progress of Cartesianism in Holland were the warm adversaries of the Cocceian theology; for this opposition, equally leveled at these two great men and their respective systems, laid the Cartesians and Cocceians under a kind of necessity of uniting their force, in order to defend their cause, in a more effectual manner, against the formidable attacks of their numerous adversaries. The Voetians were so called from Gisbert Voet, a learned and eminent professor of divinity in the university of Utrecht, who first sounded the alarm of this theologico-philosophical war, and led on, with zeal, the polemic legions

[n] See Fred. Spanhemii Epistola de novissimis in Belgio Dissidiis, tom. ii. op. p. 973.

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Cartesian controversy.

XXX. The Cartesian philosophy, at its first appearance, attracted the attention and esteem of many, and seemed more conformable to truth and nature, as well as more elegant and pleasing in its aspect, than the intricate labyrinths of Peripatetic wisdom. It was considered in this light in Holland; it however met there with a formidable adversary, in 1639, in the famous Voet above-mentioned, who taught theology with the greatest reputation, and gave plain intimations of his looking upon Cartesianism as a system of impiety. Voet was a man of uncommon application and immense learning; he had made an extraordinary progress in the various branches of erudition and philosophy; but he was not endowed with a large portion of that philosophical spirit, which judges with acuteness and precision of natural science and abstract truths. While Des-Cartes resided at Utrecht, Voet found fault with many things in his philosophy; but what induced him to cast upon it the aspersion of impiety, was its being introduced by the following principles: "That the person who "aspires to the character of a true philosopher must "begin by doubting of all things, even of the exist-"ence of a Supreme Being—that the nature or "essence of spirit, and even of God himself, consists "in thought—that space has no real existence, and "is no more than the creature of fancy,—and that, "consequently, matter is without bounds."

Des-Cartes defended his principles, with his usual acuteness, against the professor of Utrecht; his disciples and followers thought themselves obliged, on this occasion, to assist their master; and thus war was formally declared. On the other hand, Voet was not only seconded by those Belgic divines who were the most eminent, at this time, for the extent of their learning and the soundness of their theology, such as Rivet, Des-Marets, and Maestricht, but also

was followed and applauded by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy [o]. While the flame of controversy burned with sufficient ardor, it was considerably augmented by the proceedings of certain doctors, who applied the principles and tenets of Des-Cartes to the illustration of theological truth. Hence, in 1656, an alarm was raised in the Dutch churches and schools, and a strong resolution was taken in several of their ecclesiastical assemblies (commonly called *classes*), to make head against Cartesianism, and not to permit that imperious philosophy to make such encroachments upon the domain of theology. The states of Holland not only approved this resolution, but also gave it new force and efficacy by a public edict, issued in the same year, by which both the professors of philosophy and theology were forbidden either to explain the writings of Des-Cartes to the youth under their care, or to illustrate the doctrines of the Gospel by the principles of philosophy. It was farther resolved in an assembly of the clergy, holden at Delft in the following year, that no candidate for holy orders should be received into the ministry before he made a solemn declaration, that he would neither promote the Cartesian philosophy, nor disfigure the divine simplicity of religion, by loading it with foreign ornaments. Laws of a like tenor were afterwards passed by the States-general, and by the governments of other countries [p]. But as there is in human nature a strange propensity to struggle against authority, and to pursue, with a peculiar degree of ardor, things that are forbidden, so it happened, that all these edicts proved insufficient to stop the progress of Cartesianism, which at length obtained a solid and permanent footing in the seminaries of learning,

[o] See Baillet's Vie de M. Des-Cartes, tom. ii. chap. v. and Daniel's Voyage du Monde de M. Des-Cartes.

[p] Fred. Spanheim, de novissimis in Belgio Dissidiis, tom. ii. op. p. 959.—The reader may also consult the historians of this century, 'such as Arnold, Weismann, Jàger, Carolus, and also Walchius' Histor. Controvers. Germanic. tom. iii.

 and was applied, both in the universities and churches, and sometimes indeed very preposterously, to explain the truths and precepts of Christianity. Hence it was, that the United Provinces were divided into the two great factions already mentioned, and that the whole remainder of this century was spent amidst their contentions and debates.

The sentiments of Cocceius concerning the Holy Scriptures.

XXXI. John Koch or Cocceius, a native of Bremen, and professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, might have certainly passed for a great man, had his vast erudition, his exuberant fancy, his ardent piety, and his uncommon application to the study of the Scriptures, been under the direction of a sound and solid judgement. This singular man introduced into theology a multitude of new tenets and strange notions, which had never before entered into the brain of any other mortal, or at least had never been heard of before his time. In the first place, as has been already hinted, his manner of explaining Scripture was totally different from that of Calvin and his followers. Departing entirely from the admirable simplicity that reigns in the commentaries of that great man, he represented the whole history of the Old Testament as a mirror, that held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events which were to happen in the church under the dispensation of the New Testament, and to the end of the world. He even went so far as to maintain, that the miracles, actions, and sufferings of Christ and of his apostles, during the course of their ministry, were types and images of future events. He affirmed, that the far greater part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, and the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figures of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the very sense of the words, used in these predictions; and he completed the extravagance of this chimerical system, by turning, with wonderful art and dexterity, into holy riddles and typical predictions, even those passages of the Old

Testament which seemed intended for no other purpose than to celebrate the praises of the Deity, convey some religious truth, or inculcate some rule of practice. In order to give an air of solidity and plausibility to these eccentric notions, he first laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, "That the "words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood "in every sense of which they are susceptible; or, "in other words, that they signify, in effect, every "thing that they can signify;" a rule which, when followed by a man who had more imagination than judgement, could not fail to produce very extraordinary comments on the sacred writings. After having laid down this singular rule, he divided the whole history of the church into seven periods, conformable to the seven trumpets and seals mentioned in the Revelations.

Concerning the doctrinal part of theology.

XXXII. One of the great designs formed by Cocceius, was that of separating theology from philosophy, and of confining the Christian doctors, in their explications of the former, to the words and phrases of the Scriptures. Hence it was, that, finding, in the language of the sacred writers, the Gospel dispensation represented under the image of a covenant made between God and man, he looked upon the use of this image as admirably adapted to exhibit a complete and well-connected system of religious truth. But while he was laboring this point, and endeavouring to accommodate the circumstances and characters of human contracts to the dispensations of divine wisdom, which they represent in such an inaccurate and imperfect manner, he fell imprudently into some erroneous notions. Such was his opinion concerning the covenant made between God and the Jewish nation by the ministry and the mediation of Moses, which he affirmed to be "of the same nature "with the new covenant obtained by the mediation "of Jesus Christ." In consequence of this general principle, he maintained, "That the Ten Command-"ments were promulgated by Moses not as a rule of

 "obedience, but as a representation of the covenant "of grace; that when the Jews had provoked the "Deity, by their various transgressions, particularly "by the worship of the golden calf, the severe and "servile yoke of the ceremonial law was added to "the decalogue, as a punishment inflicted on them "by the Supreme Being in his righteous displeasure; "that this yoke, which was painful in itself, became "doubly so on account of its typical signification, "since it admonished the Israelites, from day to day, "of the imperfection and uncertainty of their state, "filled them with anxiety, and was a standing and "perpetual proof that they had merited the displea- "sure of God, and could not expect, before the "coming of the Messiah, the entire remission of "their transgressions and iniquities: that, indeed, "good men, even under the Mosaic dispensation, "were immediately after death made partakers of "everlasting happiness and glory; but that they "were, nevertheless, during the whole course of their "lives, far removed from that firm hope and assu- "rance of salvation, with which the faithful are "gratified under the dispensation of the Gospel, and "that their anxiety flowed naturally from this con- "sideration, that their sins, though they remained "unpunished, were not pardoned, because Christ had "not then offered himself up a sacrifice to the Father "to make an entire atonement for them." These are the principal lines that distinguish the Cocceian from other systems of theology; it is attended, indeed, with other peculiarities; but we shall pass them over in silence, as of little moment, and unworthy of notice. These notions were warmly opposed by the persons who had declared war against the Cartesian philosophy; and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. But, in the issue, the doctrines of Cocceius, like those of Des-Cartes, maintained their ground; and neither the dexterity nor the vehemence of his adversaries could exclude his disciples from the public seminaries of learning, or hinder

them from propagating, with surprising success and rapidity, the tenets of their master in Germany and Switzerland [q].

The controversy set on foot by Roell concerning the use of reason in religion.

XXXIII. The other controversies, that divided the Batavian church during this century, arose from the immoderate propensity that certain doctors discovered toward an alliance between the Cartesian philosophy and their theological system. This will appear, with the utmost evidence, from the debates excited by Roell and Becker, which surpassed all the others, both by the importance of their subjects and by the noise they made in the world. About the year 1686, certain Cartesian doctors of divinity, headed by the ingenious Herman Alexander Roell, professor of theology in the university of Franeker, seemed to attribute to the dictates of reason a more extensive authority in religious matters, than they had hitherto possessed. The controversy occasioned by this innovation was reducible to the two following questions: "1. Whether the divine origin and au-"thority of Scripture can be demonstrated by reason "alone, or whether an inward testimony of the "Holy Spirit in the hearts of Christians be necessary "in order to the firm belief of this fundamental "point? 2. Whether the sacred writings propose "to us, as an object of faith, any thing that is "repugnant to the dictates of right reason?" These questions were answered, the former in the affirmative, and the latter in the negative, not only by Roell, but also by Vander-Wayen, Wessel, Duker, Ruard ab Andala, and other doctors, who were opposed on this occasion by Ulric Nuber, an eminent lawyer, Gerard de Vries, and others of inferior note [r]. The flame excited by this controversy spread itself far and wide through the United Provinces; and its progress seemed to be increasing from day to day,

[q] See Baillet's Vie de M. Des-Cartes, tom. ii. p. 33.—Daniel's Voyage du Monde de Des-Cartes.—Val. Alberti Διπλῦν καππά, Cartesianismus et Cocceianismus descripti et refutati.

[r] See the Biblioth. Univers. et Historique of Le Clerc, tom. vi.

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Sentiments of Roell concerning the generation of the Son of God.

XXXIV. Not long after this controversy had been hushed, Roell alarmed the orthodoxy of his colleagues, and more particularly of the learned Vitringa, by some other new tenets, that rendered the soundness of his religious principles extremely doubtful, not only in their opinion, but likewise in the judgement of many Dutch divines[s]; for he maintained, "That the "account we have of the generation of the Son, in "the sacred writings, is not to be understood in a "literal sense, or as a real generation of a natural "kind;" he also affirmed, "That the afflictions and "death of the righteous are as truly the penal effects "of original sin, as the afflictions and death of the "wicked and impenitent;" and he entertained notions concerning the divine decrees, original sin, the satisfaction of Christ, and some points of less moment, which differed in reality, or by the manner of expressing them seemed to differ greatly, from the doctrines received and established in the Dutch church[t]. The magistrates of Friseland used all the

[s] For an account of Roell. see the Bibliotheca Bremens. Theologico-Philolog. tom. ii. p. vi. p. 707; and Casp. Burmanni Trajectum Eruditum, p. 306.

[t] Those who are desirous of the most accurate account of the errors of Roell, will find them enumerated in a public piece composed by the faculty of theology at Leyden, in order to confirm the sentence of condemnation that had been pronounced against them by the Dutch synods. This piece is entitled, Judicium Ecclesiasticum, quo Opiniones quædam Cl. H. A. Roellii synodice damnatæ sunt, laudatum a Professoribus Theologiæ in Academiâ Lugduno-Batavâ.

precautions that prudence could suggest, to prevent these controversies from being propagated in their province; and they enacted several laws for this purpose, all tending toward peace and silence. This conduct, however, was not imitated by the other provinces, where Roell and his disciples were condemned, both in private and in public, as heretics and corruptors of divine truth [u]. Nor did the death of this eminent man extinguish the animosity and resentment of his adversaries; for his disciples were still treated with severity; and, notwithstanding the solemn protestations they have given of the soundness and purity of their religious sentiments, they labor under the imputation of many concealed errors.

The contest occasioned by the peculiar sentiments of Becker.

XXXV. The controversy set on foot by the ingenious Balthasar Becker, minister at Amsterdam, must not be omitted. This learned ecclesiastic took occasion, from the Cartesian definition of spirit, of the truth and precision of which he was intimately persuaded, to deny boldly all the accounts we have in Scripture of the seduction, influence, and opera-

☞ [u] This affirmation is somewhat exaggerated; at least we must not conclude from it, that Roell was either deposed or persecuted; for he exercised the functions of his professorship for several years after this at Franeker, and was afterwards called to the chair of divinity at Utrecht, upon the most honorable and advantageous terms. The states of Friseland published an edict, enjoining silence, and forbidding all professors, pastors, &c. in their province, to teach the particular opinions of Roell; and this pacific divine sacrificed the propagation of his opinions to the love of peace and concord. His notion concerning the Trinity did not essentially differ from the doctrine generally received upon that mysterious and unintelligible subject; and his design seemed to be no more than to prevent Christians from humanising the relation between the Father and Son. But this was wounding his brethren, the rigorous systematic divines, in a tender point; for, if Anthropomorphism, or the custom of attributing to the Deity the kind of procedure in acting and judging that is usual among men (who resemble him only as imperfection resembles perfection), should be banished from theology, orthodoxy would be deprived of some of its most precious phrases, and our confessions of faith and systems of doctrine would be reduced within much narrower bounds.

CENT. XVII. tions of the devil and his infernal emissaries, as also all that has been said in favor of the existence of ghosts, spectres, and magicians. The long and elaborate work which he published in 1691, upon this interesting subject, is still extant. In this singular production, which bears the title of the World Bewitched, he modifies and perverts, with the greatest ingenuity, but also with equal temerity and presumption, the accounts given by the sacred writers of the power of Satan and wicked angels, and of persons possessed by evil spirits; he affirms, moreover, that the unhappy and malignant being, who is called in Scripture Satan, or the Devil, is chained down with his infernal ministers in hell; so that he can never come forth from this eternal prison to terrify mortals, or to seduce the righteous from the paths of virtue. According to the Cartesian definition above-mentioned, the essence of spirit consists in thought; and, from this definition, Becker drew his doctrine, since none of that influence, or of those operations which are attributed to evil spirits, can be effected by mere thinking[u]. Rather, therefore, than call in question

[u] ☞ Our historian relates here somewhat obscurely the reasoning which Becker founded upon the Cartesian definition of mind or spirit. The substance of his argument is as follows: "The essence of mind is thought, and the essence of matter extension. Now since there is no sort of conformity or connexion between thought and extension, mind cannot act upon matter, unless these two substances be united, as soul and body are in man:—therefore no separate spirits, either good or evil, can act upon mankind. Such acting is miraculous, and miracles can be performed by God alone. It follows of consequence that the scriptural accounts of the actions and operations of good and evil spirits must be understood in an allegorical sense." This is Becker's argument; and it does, in truth, little honor to his acuteness and sagacity. By proving too much, it proves nothing at all; for, if the want of a connexion or conformity between thought and extension renders mind incapable of acting upon matter, it is hard to see how their union should remove this incapacity, since the want of conformity and of connexion remains notwithstanding this union. Besides, according to this reasoning, the Supreme Being cannot act upon material beings. In vain does Becker maintain the affirmative, by having recourse

the accuracy or authority of Des-Cartes, Becker thought proper to force the narrations and doctrines of Scripture into a conformity with the principles and definitions of this philosopher. This error excited great tumults and divisions, not only in all the United Provinces, but also in some parts of Germany, where several doctors of the Lutheran church were alarmed at its progress, and arose to oppose it [w]. Its inventor and promoter, though refuted victoriously by a multitude of adversaries, and publicly deposed from his pastoral charge, died in 1718, in the full persuasion of the truth of those opinions which had drawn upon him so much opposition, and professed, with his last breath, his sincere adherence to every thing he had written on that subject; nor can it be said, that this his doctrine died with him, since it is abundantly known, that it has still many votaries and patrons, who either hold it in secret, or profess it publicly.

Dutch sects—Verschorists, Hattemists.

XXXVI. The curious reader can be no stranger to the multitude of sects, some Christian, some half-Christian, some totally delirious, that have started up at different times both in England and Holland. It is difficult, indeed, for those who live in other countries, to give accurate accounts of these separatists, as the books that contain their doctrines and views are seldom dispersed among foreign nations. We have, however, been lately favored with some relations, that give a more just idea of the Dutch sects, called Verschorists and Hattemists, than we had before entertained; and it will not therefore be improper to give here some account of these remark-

to a miracle; for this would imply, that the whole course of nature is a series of miracles, that is to say, that there are no miracles at all.

[w] See Lilienthalii Selectæ Historiæ Literar. p. i. observat. ii. p. 17.—Miscellan. Lipsiens. tom. i. p. 361, where may be found an explication of a satirical medal, struck to expose the sentiments of Becker. See also Nouveau Diction. Hist. et Critique, tom. i. p. 193.

 able communities. The former derives its denomination from Jacob Verschoor, a native of Flushing, who, in 1680, out of a perverse and heterogeneous mixture of the tenets of Cocceius and Spinosa, produced a new form of religion, equally remarkable for its extravagance and impiety. His disciples and followers were called Hebrews, on account of the zeal and assiduity with which they all, without distinction of age or sex, applied themselves to the study of the Hebrew language.

The Hattemists were so called from Pontian Van Hattem, a minister in the province of Zealand, who was also addicted to the sentiments of Spinosa, and was on that account degraded from his pastoral office. The Verschorists and Hattemists resemble each other in their religious systems, though there must also be some points in which they differ, since it is well known, that Van Hattem could never persuade the former to unite their sect with his, and thus to form one communion. Neither of the two would wish the public to conclude that they have abandoned the profession of the Reformed religion; they affect, on the contrary, an apparent attachment to it; and Hattem, in particular, published a treatise upon the Catechism of Heidelberg. If I rightly understand the imperfect relations that have been given of the sentiments and principles of these two communities, both their founders began by perverting the doctrine of the Reformed church concerning absolute decrees, so as to deduce from it the impious system of a fatal and uncontrollable necessity. Having laid down this principle to account for the origin of all events, they went a step farther into the domain of atheism, and denied "the difference between moral good and evil, "and the corruption of human nature." Hence they concluded, "That mankind were under no sort of "obligation to correct their manners, to improve "their minds, or to endeavour after a regular obedi-"ence to the divine laws; that the whole of religion

"consisted, not in acting, but in suffering; and that "all the precepts of Jesus Christ are reducible to this "single one, that we should bear with cheerfulness "and patience the events that happen to us through "the divine will, and make it our constant and "only study to maintain a permanent tranquillity of "mind."

This, if we mistake not, was the common doctrine of the two sects under consideration. There were, however, certain opinions or fancies, which were peculiar to Hattem and his followers, who affirmed, "That Christ had not satisfied the divine justice, "nor made an expiation for the sins of men by his "death and sufferings, but had only signified to us, "by his mediation, that there was nothing in us that "could offend the Deity." Hattem maintained, "that this was Christ's manner of justifying his "servants, and presenting them blameless before the "tribunal of God." These opinions seem perverse and pestilential in the highest degree; and they evidently tend to extinguish all virtuous sentiments, and to dissolve all moral obligation. It does not however appear, that either of these innovators directly recommended immorality and vice, or thought that men might safely follow, without any restraint, the impulse of their irregular appetites and passions. It is at least certain, that the following maxim is placed among their tenets, that God does not punish men *for* their sins, but *by* their sins; and this maxim seems to signify, that, if a man does not restrain his irregular appetites, he must suffer the painful fruits of his licentiousness, both in a present and future life, not in consequence of any judicial sentence pronounced by the will, or executed by the immediate hand of God, but according to some fixed law or constitution of nature[x]. The two sects still subsist, though they bear no longer the names of their founders.

[x] See Theod. Hasæi Dissert. in Museo Bremensi Theol. Philolog. vol. ii. p. 144.—Bibliotheque Belgique, tom. ii. p. 203.

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The disputes in Switzerland concerning the Consensus or form of concord.

XXXVII. The churches of Switzerland, so early as the year 1669, were alarmed at the progress which the opinions of Amyrault, De la Place, and Capel, were making in different countries; and they were apprehensive that the doctrine they had received from Calvin, and which had been so solemnly confirmed by the synod of Dordrecht, might be altered and corrupted by these supposed improvements in theology. This apprehension was so much the less chimerical, as at that very time there were, among the clergy of Geneva, certain doctors eminent for their learning and eloquence, who not only adopted these new opinions, but were also desirous, notwithstanding the opposition and remonstrances of their colleagues, of propagating them among the people [y]. To set bounds to the zeal of these innovators, and to stop the progress of the new doctrines, the learned John Henry Heidegger, professor of divinity at Zurich, was employed in 1675, by an assembly composed of the most eminent Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine, in direct opposition to the tenets and principles of the celebrated French writers mentioned above. The magistrates were engaged, without much difficulty, to give to this production the stamp of their authority, and to add to it the other confessions of faith received in the Helvetic church, under the peculiar denomination of the *Form of Concord.* This step, which seemed to be taken with pacific views, proved an abundant source of division and discord. Many declared, that they could not conscientiously subscribe this new form; and thus unhappy tumults and contests arose in several places. Hence it happened, that the canton of Basil and the republic of Geneva, perceiving the inconveniences that proceeded from this new article of church-communion, and being strongly solicited, in 1686, by Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, to ease the burthened consciences of their clergy,

[y] See Leti Istoria Genevina, part iv. book v. p. 448, 488, 497, &c.

abrogated this form[z]. It is nevertheless certain, that in the other cantons it maintained its authority for some time after this period; but, in our time, the discords it has excited in many places, and more particularly in the university of Lausanne, have contributed to deprive it of all its authority, and to plunge it into utter oblivion[a].

CHAPTER III.

The History of the Arminian Church.

The denomination of Arminians whence.

I. THERE sprang forth from the bosom of the reformed church, during this century, two new sects, whose birth and progress were, for a long time, painful and perplexing to the parent that bore them. These sects were the Arminians and Quakers, whose origin was owing to very different principles, since the former derived its existence from an excessive propensity to improve the faculty of reason, and to follow its

☞ [z] It must not be imagined, from the expressions of our historian, that this *Consensus*, or Form of Agreement, was abrogated at Basil by a positive edict. The case stood thus: Mr. Peter Werenfels, who was at the head of the ecclesiastical consistory of that city, paid such regard to the letter of the elector, as to avoid requiring a subscription to this form from the candidates for the ministry: and his conduct, in this respect, was imitated by his successors. The remonstrances of the elector do not seem to have had the same effect upon those who governed the church of Geneva; for the form maintained its credit and authority there until the year 1706, when, without being abrogated by any positive act, it fell into disuse. In several other parts of Switzerland, it was still imposed as a rule of faith, as appears from the letters addressed by George I., king of Great Britain, and by the king of Prussia, in 1723, to the Swiss cantons, in order to procure the abrogation of this form, which was considered as an obstacle to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. See the Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Troubles arrivées en Suisse à l'occasion du Consensus, published at Amsterdam in 1726.

[a] See the work last quoted, and also Christ. Matth. Pfaffii Schediasma de Formula Consens. Helvet.

CENT. XVII. dictates and discoveries: while the latter sprang up, like a rank weed, from the neglect and contempt of human reason. The Arminians derive their name and their origin from James Arminius, or Harmensen, who was first pastor at Amsterdam, afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden, and who attracted the esteem and applause of his very enemies, by his acknowleged candor, penetration, and piety[a]. They received also the denomination of *Remonstrants*, from an humble petition, entitled their Remonstrance, which they addressed, in 1610, to the states of Holland and West-Friseland; and, as the patrons of Calvinism presented an address in opposition to this, which they called their Counter-Remonstrance, the latter received the name of *Counter-Remonstrants*.

The commencement of Arminianism.

II. Arminius, though he had imbibed in his tender years the doctrines of Geneva, and had even received his theological education in the university of that city, yet rejected, when he arrived at the age of manhood, the sentiments, concerning predestination and the divine decrees, that were adopted by the greatest part of the reformed churches, and embraced the principles and communion of those, whose religious system extended the love of the Supreme Being, and the merits of Jesus Christ, to all mankind[b]. As time

[a] The most ample account we have of this eminent man is given by Caspar Brandt, in his Historia Vitæ Jac. Arminii, published at Leyden in 1724, and the year after by me at Brunswick, with an additional preface and some annotations. See also Nouveau Dictionaire Histor. et Critique, tom. i. p. 471. They who would form a just and accurate notion of his temper, genius, and doctrine, will do well to peruse, with particular attention, his Disputationes publicæ et privatæ. There are in his manner of reasoning, and also in his phraseology, some little remains of the scholastic jargon of that age; yet we find in his writings, upon the whole, much of that simplicity and perspicuity which his followers have always looked upon, and still consider, as among the principal qualities of a Christian minister. For an account of the Arminian confessions of faith, and the historical writers who have treated of this sect, see J. Christ. Kocher's Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ, p. 481.

[b] Bertius in his Funeral Oration on Arminius, Brandt in his history of the life of that divine, and almost all the ecclesiastical

and deep meditation had only served to confirm him in these principles, he thought himself obliged, by the dictates both of candor and conscience, to profess them publicly, when he had obtained the chair of divinity in the university of Leyden, and to oppose the doctrine and sentiments of Calvin on these heads, which had been followed by the greatest part of the Dutch clergy. Two considerations encouraged him, in a particular manner, to venture upon this open declaration of his sentiments; for he was persuaded, on one hand, that there were many persons, beside himself, and, among these, some of the first rank and dignity, who were highly disgusted at the doctrine of absolute decrees; and, on the other, he knew that the Dutch divines and doctors were neither obliged by their confession of faith, nor by any other public law, to adopt and propagate the principles of Calvin. Thus animated and encouraged, he taught his sentiments publicly, with great freedom and equal success, and persuaded many of the truth of his doctrine: but, as Calvinism was at this time in a flourishing state in Holland, this freedom procured him a multitude of enemies, and drew upon him the severest marks of disapprobation and resentment from those who adhered to the theological system of Geneva, and more especially from Francis Gomar, his colleague. Thus commenced that long, tedious, and intricate controversy, which afterwards made such a noise in Europe. Arminius died in 1609, when it was just beginning to involve his country in contention and discord [c].

historians of this period, mention the occasion of this change in his sentiments. It happened in 1591, as appears from the remarkable letter of Arminius to Grynæus, dated in that year, in which the former proposes to the latter some of his theological doubts. This letter is published in the Biblioth. Brem. Theol. Philolog. tom. iii. p. 384.

[c] The history of this controversy, and of the public discords and tumults it occasioned, is more circumstantially related by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his History of the Reformation, than by any other writer. This excellent history

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The progress of Arminianism.

III. After the death of Arminius, the contest seemed to be carried on, during some years, with equal success; so that it was not easy to foresee which side would gain the ascendency. The demands of the Arminians were moderate; they required no more than a bare toleration of their religious sentiments[d]; and some of the first men in the republic, such as Olden-Barneveldt, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several others, looked upon this demand as reasonable and just. It was the opinion of these great men, that, as the points in debate had not been determined by the Belgic confession of faith, every individual had an unquestionable right to judge for himself, more especially in a free state, which had thrown off the yoke of spiritual despotism and civil tyranny. In consequence of this persuasion, they used their utmost efforts to accommodate matters, and left no methods unemployed to engage the Calvinists to treat with Christian moderation and forbearance their dissenting brethren. These efforts were at first attended with some prospect of success. Maurice, prince of Orange, and the princess dowager, his mother, countenanced these pacific measures, though the former became afterwards one of the warmest adversaries of the Arminians. Hence a conference was holden in 1611,

is written in Dutch; but there is an abridgement of it in French, which has been translated into English. Add, to this, Uytenbogard's Ecclesiastical History, written also in Dutch; Limborchi Historia Vitæ Episcopii; and the Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum, published by Limborch. Those who desire a more concise view of this contest, will find it in Limborch's Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione et capitibus annexis, which is subjoined to the later editions of his Theologia Christiana, or Body of Divinity. It is true, all these are Arminians; and, as impartiality requires our hearing both sides, the reader may consult Trigland's Ecclesiastical History, composed likewise in Dutch, and a prodigious number of polemical writings published against the Arminians.

☞ [d] This toleration was offered to them in the conference holden at the Hague in 1611, provided they would renounce the errors of Socinianism. See Trigland's History, and also Henry Brandt's Collatio Scriptorum habita Hagæ-Comitum.

at the Hague, between the contending parties; another took place at Delft in 1613; and, with the same view, a pacific edict was issued in 1614 by the states of Holland, to exhort them to charity and mutual forbearance; not to mention a number of expedients applied in vain to prevent the schism that threatened the church[e]. But these measures confirmed, instead of removing, the apprehensions of the Calvinists; from day to day they were still more firmly persuaded, that the Arminians aimed at nothing less than the ruin of all religion; and hence they censured their magistrates with great warmth and freedom, for interposing their authority to promote peace and union with such adversaries[f]; and those, who are well informed and impartial, must candidly acknowlege, that the Arminians were far from being sufficiently cautious in avoiding connexions with persons of loose principles, and that, by frequenting the company of those, whose sentiments were entirely different from the received doctrines of the reformed church, they furnished their enemies with a pretext for suspecting their own principles, and representing their theological system in the worst colors.

The five articles of Arminianism.

IV. It is worthy of observation, that this unhappy controversy, which assumed another form, and was

[e] The writers who have given accounts of these transactions are well known: we shall only mention the first and second volumes of the Histoire de Louis XIII. by Le Vassor, who treats largely and accurately of these religious commotions, and of the civil transactions that were connected with them.

[f] The conduct of the states of Holland, who employed not only the language of persuasion, but also the voice of authority, in order to calm these commotions, and restore peace to the church, was defended, with his usual learning and eloquence, by Grotius, in two treatises. One, which contains the general principles on which this defence is founded, is entitled, "De Jure summarum Potestatum circa Sacra;" the other, in which these principles are peculiarly applied in justifying the conduct of the states, was published, in 1613, under the following title: "Ordinum Hollandiæ ac West-Frisiæ Pietas a multorum Calumniis vindicata."

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1. "That God, from all eternity, determined to "bestow salvation on those who, as he foresaw, would "persevere to the end in their faith in Christ Jesus, "and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who "should continue in their unbelief, and resist, to the "end of life, his divine succours:

2. "That Jesus Christ, by his death and suffer-"ings, made an atonement for the sins of mankind "in general, and of every individual in particular: "that, however, none but those who believe in him "can be partakers of that divine benefit.

3. "That true faith cannot proceed from the exer-"cise of our natural faculties and powers, or from "the force and operation of free-will, since man, in "consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable "either of thinking or doing any good thing; and "that therefore it is necessary to his conversion and "salvation, that he be *regenerated* and renewed by "the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift "of God, through Jesus Christ.

4. "That this divine grace, or energy of the Holy "Ghost, which heals the disorders of a corrupt nature, "begins, advances, and brings to perfection, every "thing that can be called good in man; and that, "consequently, all good works, without exception, "are to be attributed to God alone, and to the opera-"tion of his grace; that, nevertheless, this grace "does not *force* the man to act against his inclina-"tion, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual "by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

5. "That they who are united to Christ by faith "are thereby furnished with abundant strength, and "with succours sufficient to enable them to triumph "over the seductions of Satan, and the allurements

"of sin and temptation; but that the question, "Whether such *may* fall from their faith, and forfeit "finally this state of grace, has not been yet resolved "with sufficient perspicuity, and must, therefore, be "yet more carefully examined by an attentive study "of what the Scriptures have declared in relation to "this important point."

It is to be observed, that this last article was afterwards changed by the Arminians, who, in process of time, declared their sentiments with less caution, and positively affirmed, that the saints might fall from a state of grace [g].

If we are to judge of men's sentiments by their words and declarations, the tenets of the Arminians, at the period now under consideration, bear a manifest resemblance to the Lutheran system. But the Calvinists did not judge in this manner; on the contrary, they explained the words and declarations of the Arminians according to the notions they had formed of the hidden sentiments of those sectaries; and, instead of judging of their opinions by their expressions, they judged of their expressions by their opinions. They maintained, that the Arminians designed, under these specious and artful declarations, to insinuate the poison of Socinianism and Pelagianism into unwary and uninstructed minds. The secret thoughts of men are only known to Him, who is the searcher of hearts; and it is his privilege alone to pronounce judgement upon those intentions and designs which are concealed from public view. But if we were allowed to interpret the five articles now mentioned in a sense conformable to what the leading doctors among the Arminians have taught in later times concerning these points, it would be difficult to shew, that the suspicions of the Calvinists were entirely groundless; for it is certain, whatever the Arminians

[g] The history of these five articles, and more particularly of their reception and progress in England, has been written by Dr. Heylin, whose book was translated into Dutch by the learned and eloquent Brandt, and published at Rotterdam in 1687.

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Prince Maurice declares against the Arminians.

V. The mild and favorable treatment which the Arminians received from the magistrates of Holland, and from several persons of merit and distinction, encouraged them to hope, that their affairs would take a prosperous turn, or at least that their cause was not desperate, when an unexpected storm arose against them, and blasted their expectations. This change was produced by causes entirely foreign to religion; and its origin must be sought in those connexions which can scarcely be admitted as possible by the philosopher, but are perpetually presented to the view of the historian. A secret misunderstanding had for some time subsisted between the stadtholder Maurice, prince of Orange, and some of the principal magistrates and ministers of the new republic, such as Olden-Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets; and this misunderstanding had at length broken out into an open enmity and discord. The views of this great prince are differently represented by different historians. Some allege, that he had formed the design of getting himself declared count of Holland, a dignity which William I., the glorious founder of Belgic liberty, is also said to have had in view [i].

☞ [h] This is a curious remark. It would seem as if the Lutherans were not Semi-Pelagians; as if they considered man as absolutely passive in the work of his conversion and sanctification; but such an opinion surely has never been the general doctrine of their church, however rigorously Luther may have expressed himself on that head, in some unguarded moments: more especially it may be affirmed, that in later times the Lutherans are, to a man, Semi-Pelagians; and let it not be thought that this is imputed to them as a reproach.

[i] That Maurice aimed at the dignity of count of Holland we learn from Aubery's Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d' Hollande et des autres Provinces Unies, sect. ii. If we are to believe Aubery (informed by his father, who was, at that time,

Others affirm, that he only aspired to a greater degree of authority and influence than seemed consistent with the liberties of the republic; it is at least certain, that some of the principal persons in the government suspected him of aiming at supreme dominion. The leading men above-mentioned opposed these designs; and these leading men were the patrons of the Arminians. The Arminians adhered to these their defenders, without whose aid they could have no prospect of security or protection. Their adversaries the Gomarists, on the contrary, seconded the views and espoused the interests of the prince, and inflamed his resentment, which had been already kindled by various suggestions, to the disadvantage of the Arminians, and of those who protected them. Thus, after mutual suspicions and discontents, the flame broke out with violence; and Maurice aimed at the ruin of those who ruled the republic without shewing a proper regard to his counsels, and also of the Arminians, who espoused their cause. The men who sat at the helm of government, were cast into prison. Olden-Barneveldt, a man of gravity and wisdom, whose hairs were grown grey in the service of his country, lost his life on a public scaffold; while

ambassador of France at the Hague), Olden-Barneveldt disapproved this design, prevented its execution, and lost his life by his bold opposition to the views of the prince. This account is looked upon as erroneous by Le Vassor, who takes much pains to refute it, and indeed with success, in his Histoire de Louis XIII., tom. ii. p. ii. Le Clerc, in his Biblioth. Choisie, and in his History of the United Provinces, endeavours to confirm what is related by Aubery; and also affirms, that the project formed by Maurice had been entertained before by his father. The determination of this debated point is not necessary to our present purpose. It is sufficient to observe, what is acknowleged on all sides, that Olden-Barneveldt and his associates suspected prince Maurice of a design of encroaching upon the liberties of the republic, and arrogating to himself the supreme dominion. Hence arose the zeal of Barneveldt to weaken his influence, and to set bounds to his authority; hence the indignation and resentment of Maurice; and hence the downfall of the Arminian sect, which enjoyed the patronage and adhered to the interests of Olden-Barneveldt and Grotius.

CENT. XVII. Grotius and Hoogerbeets were condemned to perpetual imprisonment[k]; under what pretext, or in consequence of what accusations or crimes, is unknown

[k] The truth of this general account of these unhappy divisions will undoubtedly be acknowleged by all parties, particularly at this period, when these tumults and commotions have subsided, and the spirit of party is less blind, partial, and violent; and the candid and ingenuous Calvinists who acknowlege this, will not thereby do the smallest prejudice to their cause. If they should even grant (what I neither pretend to affirm nor deny) that their ancestors, carried away by the impetuous spirit of the times, defended their religious opinions in a manner that was far from being consistent with the dictates of moderation and prudence, no rational conclusion can be drawn from this, either against them or the goodness of their cause; for it is well known, both by observation and experience, that unjustifiable things have often been done by men, whose characters and intentions, in general, were good and upright, and that a good cause has frequently been maintained by methods that would not bear a rigorous examination. What I have said with brevity on this subject is confirmed and amplified by Le Clerc, in his Histoire des Provinces Unies, and in the Biblioth. Choisie, tom. ii. p. 134; and also by Grotius, in his Apologeticus eorum, qui Hollandiæ et West-Frisiæ, et vicinis quibusdam Nationibus, præfuerunt ante Mutationem quæ evenit Anno 1618. The life of Olden-Barneveldt, written in Dutch, was published in 1648. The history of his trial, and of the judgement pronounced on the famous triumvirate, mentioned above, was drawn by Gerard Brandt from authentic records, and published under the following title: Historie van de Rechts-pleginge gehouden in den jaaren 1618 en 1619, omtrent de drie gevangene Heeren Johan van Olden-Barneveldt, Rombout Hoogerbeets, en Hugo de Groot; a third edition of this book, augmented with annotations, appeared in 1723. The History of the Life and Actions of Grotius, composed in Dutch by Caspar Brandt and Adrian van Cattenburg, and drawn mostly from original papers, throws a considerable degree of light on the history of these transactions. This famous work was published in 1727, under the following title: Historie van het leven des Heeren Huig de Groot, beschreven tot den Anfang van zyn Gesandchap wegens de Koninginne en Kroone van Zweden aanit Hof van Vrankryck, door Caspard Brandt, en vervolgt tot zyn doodt door Adrian van Cattenburg. Those who desire to form a true and accurate notion of the character and conduct of Grotius, and to see him as it were near hand, must have recourse to this excellent work, since almost all the other accounts of this great man are insipid, lifeless, and exhibit little else than a poor shadow, instead of a real and animated substance. The life of Grotius, composed by Burigni in French, deserves perhaps to be included in this general censure; it is at

to us[l]. As the Arminians were not charged with any violation of the laws, but merely with departing from the established religion, their cause was not of such a nature as rendered it cognisable by a civil tribunal. That, however, this cause might be regularly decided, it was judged proper to bring it before an ecclesiastical assembly, or national synod. This method of proceeding was agreeable to the sentiments and principles of the Calvinists, who are of opinion, that all spiritual concerns and religious controversies ought to be judged and decided by an ecclesiastical assembly or council[m].

The synod of Dordrecht.

VI. Accordingly a synod was convoked at Dordrecht, in 1618, by the counsels and influence of prince Maurice[n], at which were present ecclesiastical

least a very indifferent and superficial performance. ☞ There appeared in Holland a warm vindication of the memory of this great man, in a work published in 1727, and entitled, Grotii Manes ab iniquis Obtrectationibus vindicati; accedit Scriptorum ejus, tum editorum tum ineditorum, Conspectus Triplex. See the following note.

☞ [l] Dr. Mosheim, however impartial, seems to have consulted more the authors of one side than of the other, probably because they are more numerous, and more generally known. When he published this history, the world had not been favored with the Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations of Sir Dudley Carleton; which lord Royston (afterwards earl of Hardwicke) drew forth from his inestimable treasure of historical manuscripts, and presented to the public, or rather at first to a select number of persons, to whom he distributed a small number of copies of these Negotiations, printed at his own expence. They were soon translated both into Dutch and French; and though it cannot be affirmed that the spirit of party is no where discoverable in them, yet they contain anecdotes with respect both to Olden-Barneveldt and Grotius, which the Arminians, and the other patrons of these two great men, have been studious to conceal. These anecdotes, though they may not be sufficient to justify the severities exercised against these eminent men, would, however, have prevented Dr. Mosheim from saying that he knew not under what pretext they were arrested.

☞ [m] The Calvinists are not particular in this; and indeed it is natural that debates, purely theological, should be discussed in an assembly of divines.

☞ [n] Our author always forgets to mention the order, issued by the states-general, for the convocation of this famous synod; and, by his manner of expressing himself, and particularly by

 deputies from the United Provinces, as also from the churches of England, Hesse, Bremen, Switzerland, and the Palatinate. The leading men among the Arminians appeared, before this famous assembly, to defend their cause; and they had, at their head, Simon Episcopius, who was, at that time, professor of divinity at Leyden, had formerly been the disciple of Arminius, and was admired, even by his enemies, on account of the depth of his judgement, the extent of his learning, and the force of his eloquence. This eminent man addressed a discourse, full of moderation, gravity, and elocution, to the assembled divines; but this was no sooner finished, than difficulties arose, which prevented the conference the Arminians had demanded, in order to shew the grounds, in reason and Scripture, on which their opinions were founded. The Arminian deputies proposed to begin the defence of their cause by refuting the opinions of the Calvinists. This proposal was rejected by the synod, which looked upon the Arminians as a set of men that lay under the charge of heresy, and therefore thought it incumbent upon them to declare and prove their own opinions, before they could be allowed to combat the sentiments of others. The design of the Arminians, in the proposal they made, was probably to get the people on their side, by such an unfavorable representation of the Calvinistical system, and of the harsh consequences that seem deducible from it, as might excite, in the minds of those who were present, a disgust to its patrons and abettors; and it is more than probable, that one of the principal reasons, that engaged the members of the synod to reject this proposal, was a consideration of the genius and talents

the phrase (Mauritio *auctore*), would seem to insinuate, that it was by the prince that this assembly was called together. The legitimacy of the manner of convoking this synod was questioned by Olden-Barneveldt, who maintained that the states-general had no sort of authority in matters of religion, not even the power of assembling a synod; affirming that this was an act of sovereignty, that belonged to each province separately and respectively. See Carleton's Letters.

of Episcopius, and an apprehension of the effects of his eloquence upon the multitude. When all the methods employed to persuade the Arminians to submit to the manner of proceeding, proposed by the synod, proved ineffectual, they were excluded from that assembly, and returned home, complaining bitterly of the rigor and partiality with which they had been treated. Their cause was nevertheless tried in their absence; and, in consequence of a strict examination of their writings, they were pronounced guilty of pestilential errors, and condemned as corruptors of the true religion. This sentence was followed by its natural effects, which were the excommunication of the Arminians, the suppression of their religious assemblies, and the deprivation of their ministers. In this unhappy contest, the candid and impartial observer will easily perceive that faults were committed on both sides. Which of the contending parties may justly be thought most worthy of censure, is a point, whose discussion is foreign to our present purpose [o].

The judgement that ought to be formed concerning this synod.

VII. We shall not here appreciate either the merit

[o] The writers who have given accounts of the synod of Dordrecht, are mentioned by Jo. Albert Fabricius, in his Biblioth. Græc. vol. xi. p. 723. The most ample account of this famous assembly has been given by Brandt, in the second and third volumes of his History of the Reformation in the United Provinces; but, as this author is an Arminian, it will not be improper to compare his relation with a work of the learned Leydekker, in which the piety and justice of the proceedings of this synod are vindicated against the censures of Brandt. This work, which is composed in Dutch, was published in 1707 under the following title: Eere van de nationale Synode van Dordrecht, voorgestaan en bevestigd tegen de beschuldingen, van G. Brandt. After comparing diligently these two productions, I can see no enormous error in Brandt; for, in truth, these two writers do not so much differ about facts, as they do in the reasoning they deduce from them, and in their accounts of the causes whence they proceeded. The reader will do well to consult the Letters of the learned and worthy Mr. John Hale of Eton, who was an impartial spectator of the proceedings of the synod, and who relates with candor and simplicity what he saw and heard.

CENT. XVII. or demerit of the divines who were assembled in this famous synod: but we cannot help observing that their sanctity, wisdom, and virtue, have been exalted beyond all measure by the Calvinists, while their partiality, violence, and their other defects, have been exaggerated with some degree of malignity by the Arminians[p]. There is no doubt that, among the members of this assembly, who sat in judgement upon the Arminians, there were several persons equally distinguished by their learning, piety, and integrity, who acted with upright intentions, and had not the least notion, that the steps they were taking, or encouraging, were inconsistent with equity and wisdom. On the other hand it clearly appears, that the Arminians had reason to complain of several circumstances that strike us in the history of this remarkable period. It is evident, in the first place, that the ruin of their community was a point not only premeditated, but determined even before the meeting of the national synod[q]; and that this synod was not so much assembled to examine their doctrine, in order to see whether it was worthy of toleration and indulgence, as to publish and execute, with a certain solemnity, with an air of justice, and with the suffrages and consent of foreign divines, whose authority was respectable, a sentence already drawn up and agreed upon by those who had the principal direction of these affairs. It is farther to be observed, that the accusers and adversaries of the Arminians were their judges, and that Bogerman, who presided in this synod, was distinguished by his peculiar hatred of that sect; that neither the Dutch nor foreign divines had the liberty of giving their suffrages according to their own private sentiments, but were obliged to deliver the opinions

[p] All that appeared unfair to the Arminians in the proceedings of this synod, has been collected in a Dutch book, entitled, Nulliteyten, Miskandelingen, ende onbyllike, Proceduren des nationalen Synodi gehouden binnen Dordrecht, &c. 1619.

☞ [q] This assertion is of too weighty a nature to be advanced without sufficient proof. Our author quotes no authority for it.

of the princes and magistrates, of whose orders they were the depositories [r]; that the influence of the lay deputies, who appeared in the synod with commissions from the states-general and the prince of Orange, was still superior to that of the ecclesiastical members, who sat as judges; and, lastly, that the solemn promise, made to the Arminians, when they were summoned before the synod, that they should be allowed to enjoy the liberty of explaining and defending their opinions as far as they thought proper or necessary to their justification, was manifestly violated [t].

The fate of the Arminians after the synod.

VIII. The Arminians, in consequence of the decision of the synod, were considered as enemies of their country and of its established religion; and they were accordingly treated with great severity. They were deprived of all their posts and employments, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and, which they looked upon as a yet more intolerable instance of the rigor of their adversaries, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations were suppressed. They refused obedience to the order, by which their pastors were prohibited from performing, in public, their ministerial functions; and thus they drew upon themselves anew the resentment of their superiors, who punished them by fines, imprisonment, exile, and other marks of ignominy. To avoid these vexations, many of them retired to Antwerp, others fled into France; while a considerable number, accepting the invitation sent to them by Frederic, duke of Holstein,

☞ [r] Here our author has fallen into a palpable mistake. The Dutch divines had no commission but from their respective consistories, or subordinate ecclesiastical assemblies; nor are they ever depositories of the orders of their magistrates, who have lay-deputies to represent them both in provincial and national synods. As to the English and other foreign doctors who appeared in the synod, the case perhaps may have been semewhat different.

[t] See Le Vassor, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. iii. livr. xii. p. 365.—and Mosheim's preface to the Latin translation of the account of the synod of Dordrecht, written by the *ever-memorable* John Hale.

formed a colony, which settled in the dominions of that prince, and built for themselves a handsome town called Fredericstadt, in the duchy of Sleswick, where their descendants still live unmolested, in the open profession and free exercise of their religion. The heads of this colony were persons of distinction, who had been obliged to leave their native country on account of these troubles, particularly Adrian Vander-Wael, who was the first governor of the new city[u]. Among the persecuted ecclesiastics, who followed this colony, were, the famous Vorstius (who, by his religious sentiments, which differed little from the Socinian system, had rendered the Arminians particularly odious), Grevinckhovius (a man of a resolute spirit, who had been pastor at Rotterdam), Goulart, Grevius, Walther, Narsius, and others[w].

They are recalled from exile.

IX. After the death of prince Maurice, which happened in 1625, the Arminian exiles experienced the mildness and clemency of his brother and successor Frederic Henry, under whose administration they were recalled from banishment, and restored to their former reputation and tranquillity. Those who had taken refuge in the kingdom of France, and in the Spanish Netherlands, were the first that embraced this occasion of returning to their native country, where they erected churches in several places, and more particularly in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, under the mild shade of religious toleration. That they might also have a public seminary for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles, they

[u] The history of this colony is accurately related in the famous letters published by Philip Limborch and Christian Hartsoeker, entitled, Epistolæ præstantium et eruditorum Virorum ecclesiasticæ et theologicæ, of which the last edition was published at Amsterdam in 1704.—See also Molleri Introductio in Histor. Chersonesi Cimbricæ, p. ii. p. 108.—and Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. iii. p. 714.

[w] For an ample account of Vorstius, see Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. where we find a particular account of the other ecclesiastics above-mentioned.

founded a college at Amsterdam, in which two professors were appointed to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the various branches of literature and science, sacred and profane. Simon Episcopius was the first professor of theology among the Arminians; and, since his time, the seminary now mentioned has been, in general, furnished with professors eminent for their learning and genius, such as Courcelles, Poelenburg, Limborch, Le Clerc, Cattenburg[x], and Wetstein.

The ancient and modern system of Arminianism.

X. We have already seen that the original difference, between the Arminians and the Calvinists, was entirely confined to the five points mentioned above, relative to the doctrines of predestination and grace; and it was the doctrine of the former concerning these points alone that occasioned their condemnation in the synod of Dordrecht. It is farther to be observed, that these points, as explained at that time by the Arminians, seemed to differ very little from the Lutheran system. But after the dissolution of the synod, and especially after the return of the Arminian exiles into their native country, the theological system of this community underwent a remarkable change, and assumed an aspect, that distinguished it entirely from that of all other Christian churches; for then they gave a new explication of these five articles, that made them almost coincide with the doctrine of those who deny the necessity of divine succours in the work of conversion, and in the paths of virtue. They even went farther; and, bringing the greatest part of the doctrines of Christianity before the tribunal of reason, they modified them considerably, and reduced them to an excessive degree of simplicity. Arminius, the parent and founder of the community, was undoubtedly the inventor of this new form of doctrine, and taught it to his disci-

[x] There is an accurate account of these and the other Arminian writers given by Adrian van Cattenburg, in his Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium, printed at Amsterdam in 1728.

 ples[y]; but it was first digested into a regular system, and embellished with the charms of a masculine eloquence, by Episcopius, whose learning and genius have given him a place among the Arminian doctors, next to their founder[z].

[y] It is a common opinion, that the ancient Arminians, who flourished before the synod of Dordrecht, were much more sound in their opinions, and strict in their morals, than those who have lived since that period; that Arminius himself only rejected the Calvinistical doctrine of absolute decrees, and what he took to be its immediate consequences, adopting in all other points the doctrines received in the reformed churches: but that his disciples, and more especially Episcopius, had boldly transgressed the bounds which had been wisely prescribed by their master, and had gone over to the Pelagians, and even to the Socinians. Such, I say, is the opinion commonly entertained concerning this matter. But it appears, on the contrary, evident to me, that Arminius himself had laid the plan of that theological system, which was, in after-times, embraced by his followers, and that he had instilled the main principles of it into the minds of his disciples; and that these latter, and particularly Episcopius, did really no more than bring this plan to a greater degree of perfection, and propagate, with more courage and perspicuity, the doctrines it contained. I have the testimony of Arminius to support this notion, beside many others that might be alleged in its behalf: for, in the last will made by this eminent man, a little before his death, he plainly and positively declares, that the great object he had in view, in all his theological and ministerial labors, was to unite in one community, cemented by the bonds of fraternal charity, all sects and denominations of Christians, the papists excepted. His words, as they are recorded in the funeral oration, which was composed on occasion of his death by Bertius, are as follow: 'Ea proposui et docui.... quæ ad propagationem amplificationemque veritatis religionis Christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad convenientem Christiano nomini tranquillitatem et pacem juxta verbum Dei possent conferre, excludens ex iis papatum, cum quo nulla unitas fidei, nullum pietatis aut Christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest.' These words, in their amount, concide perfectly with the modern system of Arminianism, which extends the limits of the Christian church, and relaxes the bonds of fraternal communion in such a manner, that Christians of all denominations, whatever their sentiments and opinions may be (papists excepted), may be formed into one religious body, and live together in brotherly love and concord.

[z] The life of this eminent man was composed in Latin by the learned and judicious Limborch, and is singularly worthy of an attentive perusal. It was published at Amsterdam in 1701.

The great end proposed by the Arminian system, and its principal heads.

XI. The great and ultimate end which the Arminians seem to have in view is, that Christians, though divided in their opinions, may be united in fraternal charity and love, and thus be formed into one family or community, notwithstanding the diversity of their theological sentiments. In order to execute their benevolent purpose, they maintain, that Christ demands from his servants more *virtue* than *faith;* that he has confined, to a few articles, that belief which is essential to salvation; that, on the other hand, the rules of practice he has prescribed are extremely large in their extent; and that charity and virtue ought to be the principal study of true Christians. Their definition of a true Christian is somewhat latitudinarian in point of belief. According to their account, every person is a genuine subject of the kingdom of Christ, "1. who receives the Scriptures, and more especially the New Testament, as the rule of his faith, however he may think proper to interpret and explain these sacred oracles; 2. who abstains from idolatry, polytheism, and all their concomitant absurdities; 3. who leads a decent, honest, and virtuous life, directed and regulated by the laws of God; and, 4. who never discovers a spirit of persecution, discord, or ill-will, toward those who differ from him in their religious sentiments, or in their manner of interpreting Scripture." Thus the wide bosom of the Arminian church is open to Christians in general, however they may differ in some of their theological opinions. The papists alone are excluded from this extensive communion, because they deem it lawful[a] to persecute those who will not submit to the yoke of the Roman pontiff[b]. It is not our design here either to justify

☞ [a] It is not only on account of their persecuting spirit, but also on account of their idolatrous worship, that the Arminians exclude the Papists from their communion. See the following note.

[b] For a full and accurate representation of this matter, it will be sufficient for the reader to have recourse to that treatise

CENT. XVII. or condemn these latitudinarian terms of communion; but it may be said, that, if other Christian churches should adopt them, diversity of sentiment would be no longer an obstacle to mutual love and concord.

The Arminian Confession of Faith.

XII. From all this it appears, that the Arminian community was a kind of medley, composed of persons of different principles, and that, properly speaking, it could have no fixed and stable form or system of doctrine. The Arminians, however, foreseeing that this circumstance might be objected to them as a matter of reproach, and unwilling to pass for a society connected by no common principles or bond of union, have adopted, as their Confession of Faith, a kind of theological system, drawn up by Episcopius, and expressed, for the most part, in the words and phrases

which is published in the first volume of the works of Episcopius (p. 508.) under the following title: Verus Theologus Remonstrans, sive veræ Remonstrantium Theologiæ de errantibus dilucida Declaratio. This treatise is written with precision and perspicuity. Le Clerc, in the dedication prefixed to his Latin translation of Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, gives a brief account of the Arminian principles and terms of communion in the following words, addressed to learned men of that sect: 'You declare,' says he, 'that 'they *only* are excluded from your communion, who are chargeable with idolatry, who do not receive the Scriptures as the rule 'of faith, who trample upon the precepts of Christ by their licentious manners and actions, and who persecute those who differ 'from them in matters of religion.'* Many writers affirm, that the Arminians acknowlege, as their brethren, all those who receive that form of doctrine which is known under the denomination of the Apostles' Creed. But that these writers are in an error, appears sufficiently from what has been already said on this subject, and is confirmed by the express testimony of Le Clerc, who (in his Biblioth. Ancienne et Mod. tom. xxv. p. 110,) declares, that it is not true that the Arminians admit to their communion all those who receive the Apostles' Creed; his words are, 'Ils se trompent; ils (the Arminians) offrent la communion à tous ceux qui reçoivent l'ecriture sainte comme la seule règle de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolatres ni persecuteurs.'

* The original words of Le Clerc are, 'Profiteri soletis. . . . 'eos duntaxat a vobis excludi, qui idololatriâ sunt contaminati, 'qui minime habent Scripturam pro fidei normâ, qui impuris mo-'ribus sancta Christi præcepta conculcant, aut qui denique alios 'religionis causâ vexant.'

of Scripture[c]. But as none of their pastors are obliged, either by oath, declaration, or tacit compact, to adhere strictly to this confession, and as, on the contrary, by the fundamental constitution of this community, every one is authorised to interpret its expressions (which are in effect susceptible of various significations) in a manner conformable to their peculiar sentiments: it evidently follows, that we cannot thence deduce an accurate and consistent view of Arminianism, or know, with certainty, what doctrines are adopted or rejected by this sect. Hence it happens, that the Arminian doctors differ widely among themselves concerning some of the most important doctrines of Christianity[d]; and they can scarcely be said to agree universally, or to be entirely uniform, in their sentiments of any one point, if we except the doctrines of predestination and grace. They all, indeed, unanimously adhere to the doctrine that excluded their ancestors from the communion of the reformed churches, importing 'that the love of 'God extends itself equally to all mankind; that no 'mortal is rendered finally unhappy by an eternal and 'invincible decree; and that the misery of those who 'perish comes from themselves;' but they explain this doctrine in a very different manner from that in which it was formerly understood. Be that as it may, this is the fundamental doctrine of the Arminians, and whoever opposes it, becomes thereby an adversary to the whole community; whereas those whose objections are leveled at particular tenets which are found in the writings of the Arminian divines, cannot be said, with any degree of propriety, to attack

[c] This Confession of Faith is extant in Latin, Dutch, and German. The Latin edition of it is to be found in the works of Episcopius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 69; where may be found also a Defence of this Confession against the objections of the professors of divinity at Leyden.

[d] They who will be at the pains of comparing the theological writings of Episcopius, Courcelles, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Cattenburg, will see clearly the diversity of sentiment that reigns among the Arminian doctors.

CENT. XVII. or censure the Arminian church, whose theological system, a few articles excepted, is vague and uncertain[e], and is not characterised by any fixed set of doctrines and principles. Such only attack certain doctors of that communion, who are divided among themselves, and do not agree, even in their explications of the doctrine relating to the extent of the divine love and mercy, though this be the fundamental point that occasioned their separation from the reformed churches.

The present state of Arminianism.

XIII. The Arminian church makes at present but an inconsiderable figure, when compared with the reformed; and, if credit may be given to public report, it declines from day to day. The Arminians have only in the United Provinces thirty-four congregations more or less numerous, which are furnished with forty-four pastors; beside these, their church at Fredericstadt, in the duchy of Sleswick, still subsists. It cannot, however, be said, that the credit and influence of their religious principles have declined with the external lustre of their community, since it is well known that their sentiments were early adopted in several countries, and were secretly received by many who had not the courage to profess them openly. Every one is acquainted with the change that has taken place in the established church of England, whose clergy, generally speaking, since the time of archbishop Laud, have embraced the Arminian doctrine concerning predestination and grace, and, since the restoration of Charles II., have discovered a strong propensity to several other tenets of the Arminian church. Beside this, whoever has any acquaintance with the world, must know, that,

☞ [e] What renders the Arminian Confession of Faith an uncertain representation of the sentiments of the community, is, the liberty in which every pastor is indulged of departing from it, when he finds any of its doctrines contradictory to his private opinions. See the Introduction to the Arminian Confession of Faith, in the third volume of the French abridgement of Brandt's History.

in many of the courts of protestant princes, and, in general, among those persons who pretend to be wiser than the multitude, the following fundamental principle of Arminianism is adopted: "that those "doctrines, whose belief is necessary to salvation, "are very few in number; and that every one is to "be left at full liberty, with respect to his private "sentiments of God and religion, provided his life "and actions be conformable to the rules of piety "and virtue." Even the United Provinces, which saw within their bosom the defeat of Arminianism, are at this time sensible of a considerable change in that respect; for, while the patrons of Calvinism in that republic acknowlege, that the community, which makes an external profession of Arminianism, declines gradually both in its numbers and influence, they, at the same time, complain, that its doctrines and spirit gain ground from day to day; that they have even insinuated themselves more or less into the bosom of the established church, and infected the theological system of many of those very pastors who are appointed to maintain the doctrine and authority of the synod of Dordrecht. The progress of Arminianism, in other countries, is abundantly known; and its votaries in France, Geneva, and many parts of Switzerland, are certainly very numerous [e].

☞ [e] It may not, however, be improper to observe here, that the progress of Arminianism has been greatly retarded, and that its cause daily declines in Germany and several parts of Switzerland, in consequence of the ascendency which the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy has gained in these countries, and particularly among the clergy and men of learning. Leibnitz and Wolff, by attacking that liberty of *indifference*, which is supposed to imply the power of acting, not only *without* but *against* motives, struck at the very foundation of the Arminian system. But this was not all: for, by considering the multiplicity of worlds that compose the universe, as one system or whole, whose greatest possible perfection is the ultimate end of creative goodness, and the sovereign purpose of governing wisdom, they removed from the doctrine of predestination those arbitrary procedures and narrow views, with which the Calvinists are supposed to have loaded it, and gave it a new, a more pleasing, and

CENT. XVII. The external forms of divine worship and ecclesiastical government, in the Arminian church, are almost the same with those which are in use among the Presbyterians. As, however, the leading men

a more philosophical aspect. As the Leibnitians laid down this great end, as the supreme object of God's universal dominion, and the scope to which *all* his dispensations are directed, so they concluded, that, if this *end* was proposed, it *must* be accomplished. Hence the doctrine of necessity seemed proper to fulfil the purposes of a predestination founded in wisdom and goodness; a necessity, physical and mechanical in the motions of material and inanimate things, but moral and spiritual in the voluntary determinations of intelligent beings, in consequence of prepollent motives, which produce their effects with certainty, though these effects be contingent, and by no means the offspring of an absolute and essentially immutable fatality. These principles are evidently applicable to the main doctrines of Calvinism; by them predestination is confirmed, though modified with respect to its reasons and its ends; by them irresistible grace (irresistible in a moral sense) is maintained upon the hypothesis of prepollent motives and a moral necessity. The perseverance of the saints is also explicable upon the same system, by a series of moral causes producing a series of moral effects. In consequence of all this, several divines of the German church have applied the Leibnitian and Wolfian philosophy to the illustration of the doctrines of Christianity; and the learned Canzius has written a book expressly to shew the eminent use that may be made of that philosophy in throwing light upon the chief articles of our faith. See his Philosophiæ Leibnitianæ et Wolfianæ Usus in Theologiâ per præcipua Fidei capita, auctore Israele Theoph. Canzio. See also Wittenbach's Tentamen Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Methodo Scientificâ pertractatæ; but, above all, consult the famous work of Leibnitz, entitled, "Essais de Theodicée, sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme, et l'Origine du Mal." It is remarkable enough, that the Leibnitian system has been embraced by very few, scarcely by any of the English Calvinists. Can this be owing to a want of inclination toward philosophical discussions? This cannot be said. The scheme of necessity, and of partial evil's tending to universal good, has indeed been fostered in some parts of Great Britain, and even has turned some zealous Arminians into moderate and philosophical Calvinists. But the zealous Calvinists have, for the most part, adhered firmly to their theology, and blended no philosophical principles with their system: and it is certain, that the most eminent philosophers have been found, in general, among the Arminians. If both Calvinists and Arminians claim a King, it is certain that the latter alone can boast of a Newton, a Locke, a Clarke, and a Boyle.

among the Arminians are peculiarly ambitious of maintaining their correspondence and fraternal intercourse with the church of England, and leave no circumstance unimproved that may tend to confirm this union; so they discover, upon all occasions, their approbation of the episcopal form of ecclesiastical government, and profess to regard it as most ancient, as truly sacred, and as superior to all other institutions of church-polity [f].

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CHAPTER IV.

The History of the Sect called Quakers.

The rise of the Quakers. George Fox.

THE sect of Quakers received this denomination, in the year 1650, from Gervas Bennet, a justice of peace in Derbyshire [g], partly on account of the convulsive agitations and shakings of the body with which their discourses to the people were usually attended, and partly on account of the exhortation addressed to this magistrate by Fox and his companions, who, when they were called before him, desired him, with a loud voice and a vehement emotion of body, to 'tremble at the word of the Lord.' However sarcastical this appellation may be, when considered in its origin, the members of this sect are willing to adopt it, provided it be rightly understood; they prefer, nevertheless, to be called, in allusion to that doctrine which is the fundamental

[f] Hence, to omit many other circumstances that shew unquestionably the truth of this observation, the Arminians have been at great pains to represent Grotius, their hero and their oracle, as a particular admirer of the constitution and government of the church of England, which he preferred to all other forms of ecclesiastical polity. See what Le Clerc has published on this subject at the end of the edition of Grotius' book, de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, which he gave at the Hague in 1724, p. 376.

[g] See George Sewell's History of the Quakers, p. 23.—Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 32.

CENT. XVII. principle of their association, 'Children or Confessors of Light.' In their conversation and intercourse with each other, they use no other term of appellation than that of *Friend*[h].

This sect had its rise in England, in those unhappy times of confusion, anarchy, and civil discord, when every political or religious fanatic, who had formed a new plan of government, or invented a new system of theology, came forth with his novelties to public view, and propagated them with impunity among a fickle and unthinking multitude. Its parent or founder was George Fox[i], a shoemaker, of

[h] Sewell, p. 624.

☞ [i] The anonymous writer of a letter to Dr. Formey seems much offended at that gentleman on account of his calling George Fox, a man of a turbulent spirit, &c. He tells us, on the contrary, that, from all the information worthy of credit which he was able to procure, Fox was "a man of so meek, contented, "easy, steady, and tender a disposition, that it was a pleasure "to be in his company; that he exercised no authority but over "evil, and that every where, and in all, but with love, com"passion, and long-suffering." This account he takes from Penn; and it is very probable that he has looked no farther, unless it be to the curious portrait which Thomas Ellwood, another Quaker, has given of Fox,—a portrait in which there is such an affected jingle of words as shews the author to have been more attentive to the arrangement of his sentences, than to a true exhibition of the character of his original: for we are told by Ellwood that this same George Fox was deep in divine knowlege, powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer, quick in discerning, sound in judgement (*risum teneatis, amici?*)—manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, &c. After having thus painted George after the *fancy* of his two brethren (for fancy is the quaker's fountain of light and truth), the letter-writer observes, that Dr. Formey has taken his account of George's turbulence and fanaticism from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. As Mosheim is dead, and cannot defend himself, may I be permitted to request this anonymous letter-writer, who appears to be a candid and rational man, to cast an eye upon Sewell's History of the Quakers, and to follow this *meek, courteous* and *modest* George, running like a wild man through several counties, refusing to pay due homage to his sovereign, interrupting the ministers in the public celebration of divine service at Nottingham, Mansfield, and Bosworth? It is remarkable, that the very learned and worthy Dr. Henry More, who was not himself

a dark and melancholy complexion, and of a visionary and enthusiastic turn of mind. About the year 1647, which was the twenty-fourth year of his age, he began to stroll through several counties in England, giving himself out for a person divinely inspired, and exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the divine word, that lies hidden in the hearts of all men. After the decapitation of Charles I., when all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, seemed to be entirely suspended, if not extinct, Fox exerted his fanatical powers with new vigor, and formed more ambitious and extensive views. Having acquired a considerable number of disciples of both sexes, who were strongly infected with his wild enthusiasm, he excited great tumults in several parts of England, and, in 1650, went so far as to disturb the devotion of those who were assembled in the churches for the purposes of public worship, declaring that all such assemblies were useless and unchristian. For these extravagances, both he and his companions were sometimes thrown into prison, and chastised, as disturbers of the peace, by the civil magistrate [k].

without a strong tincture of enthusiasm, and who looked upon Penn as a pious Christian, treated nevertheless George Fox as a melancholy fanatic, and as one possessed with the Devil. See his Myst. of Godliness, B. x. ch. xiii. and also Schol. in Dialogue v. sect. 5.

[k] Beside the ordinary writers of the ecclesiastical history of this century, the curious reader will do well to consult Croesii Historia Quakeriana, tribus libris comprehensa. A physician named Kohlhansius, who was born a Lutheran, but afterwards became a Quaker, published critical remarks upon this history, under the title of Dilucidationes; and it must be acknowleged, that there are many inaccuracies in the work of Croesius; it is, however, much less faulty than another history of this sect, which was published at Cologne in 1692, under the following title: Histoire abregée de la Naissance et du Progres du Kouakerisme, avec celle de ses Dogmes; for the anonymous author of the latter history, instead of relating well-attested facts, has compiled, without either discernment or choice, such an extravagant medley of truth and falsehood, as is rather adapted to excite laughter than to administer instruction. See the second book of Croesius' Historia Quakeriana, p. 322, and 376, as also Le Clerc, Biblioth. Universelle et Historique,

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The first attempts of this sect under Cromwell.

II. The first association of Quakers consisted chiefly of visionary fanatics, and of persons who really seemed to be disordered in their brains; and hence they committed many enormities, which the modern Quakers endeavour to alleviate and diminish, but which they neither pretend to justify nor to approve; for the greatest part of them were riotous and tumultuous in the highest degree, and even their female disciples, forgetting the delicacy and decency peculiar to their sex, bore their part in these disorders. They ran, like Bacchanals, through the towns and villages, declaiming against episcopacy, presbyterianism, and every fixed form of religion; railed at public and

tom. xxii. p. 53.—The most ample and authentic account of this sect is that which was composed by George Sewell from a great variety of genuine records, and partly from the papers of Fox, its founder, and published under the following title: "The History of the Christian people called Quakers." This work is remarkable for the industry and accuracy which the author has discovered in compiling it; but, as Sewell was himself a Quaker, he is sometimes chargeable with concealing, diminishing, or representing under artful colors, many things, which, if impartially related, *must* have appeared dishonorable, and *might* have been detrimental, to his community. It must however be granted, that, notwithstanding these defects, his history is abundantly sufficient to enable an impartial and intelligent reader to form a just and satisfactory idea of this visionary sect. Voltaire has also entertained the public with four Letters, concerning the religion, manners, and history of the Quakers, in his Melanges de Literature, d'Histoire et de Philosophie, which are written with his usual wit and elegance, but are rather adapted to amuse than instruct. The conversation between him and Andrew Pitt, an eminent Quaker in London (which is related in these letters), may be true in general; but, to render the account of it still more pleasing, the ingenious writer has embellished it with effusions of wit and fancy, and even added some particulars, that are rather drawn from imagination than memory. It is from the books already mentioned that the French Dissertation on the Religion of the Quakers (which is inserted in the third volume of the splendid work, entitled, Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples), is chiefly compiled, though with less attention and accuracy than might have been expected. A Lutheran writer, named Frederic Ernest Meis, has given an account of the English Quakers in a German work, entitled, Entwurff der Kirchen Ordnung und Gebrauche der Quacker in Engeland, 1715.

stated worship; affronted and mocked the clergy, even in the very exercise of their ministerial functions[kk]; trampled upon the laws and the authority of the magistrates, under the pretext of being actuated by a divine impulse; and made use of their pretended

☞ [kk] A female, contrary to the modesty of her sex, appeared in Whitehall chapel *stark naked*, in the midst of public worship, when Cromwell was there present. Another entered the parliament-house, with a trencher in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, 'Thus shall he be broken in pieces.' Thomas Adams, having complained to the protector of the imprisonment of some of his friends, and not finding redress, took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, 'So shall thy government be torn 'from thee and thy house.' Several, pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets, denouncing the judgements of God against the protector and his council; and one approached the door of the parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several persons, saying, that 'he was in- 'spired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man who sat in that 'house.' The most extravagant Quaker who appeared at this time, was James Naylor, formerly an officer, a man of parts, and so much admired by these fanatics, that they blasphemously styled him, 'the everlasting son of righteousness, the prince of peace, the only begotten son of God, the fairest among ten thousand.' See Neal's History of the Puritans, and the Life and Trial of Naylor. The anonymous author of the Letter to Dr. Formey, seems to have lost sight of the state of Quakerism in the time of Fox, when he denies that the charge of turbulence and fanaticism can be proved against him or his friends, and gives the gentle denomination of *imprudence* to the extravagances exhibited by the Quakers under Charles I. and the commonwealth. The single story of Naylor, who was the convert and pupil of Fox, and the letters, full of blasphemous absurdity, written to this 'Rose of Sharon,' this 'new Jesus,' by Hannah Stranger, Richard Fairman, and others, shew the horrid vein of fanaticism that ran through this visionary sect. See these letters in the Life and Trial of Naylor, who, though cruelly scourged, was, however, whipped into his senses, or, at least, brought by his sufferings into a calmer state of mind. See also Satan Inthroned. If Quakerism be now in England on a more rational footing, we may congratulate its members upon the happy change, but at the same time condole with them on the approaching annihilation of their sect; for, if *reason* gets in among them, the *spirit* (I mean *their* spirit) will soon be quenched, and fancy being no more the only criterion of truth, the fundamental principle of their existence will be destroyed. In such a catastrophe, the abettors of ancient Quakerism will find some resource among the Methodists.

CENT. XVII. inspiration to excite vehement commotions both in state and church. Hence it is not at all surprising, that the secular arm was at length raised against these pernicious fanatics, and that many of them were severely chastised for their extravagance and folly[l]. Cromwell himself, who was, in general, an enemy to no sect, however enthusiastical it might be, entertained uneasy apprehensions from the frantic violence of the Quakers, and therefore, in his first thoughts, formed a resolution to suppress their rising community. But when he perceived that they treated with contempt both his promises and threats, and were, in effect, too powerful or too headstrong to yield to either, he prudently abstained from the use of force, and contented himself with employing wise measures and precautions to prevent their fomenting sedition among the people, or undermining the foundations of his new sovereignty[m].

The progress of this sect under Charles II. and James II.

III. In process of time, the fumes of this excessive fanaticism began to evaporate, and the ardent impetuosity of the rising sect seemed gradually to subside; nor did the *divine light*, of which the Quakers boast, produce such tumults in church and state, as at the first declaration of their celestial pretensions. In the reign of Charles II. both their religious doctrine and discipline assumed a more regular and permanent form, by the care and industry of Fox, assisted, in this very necessary undertaking, by Robert Barclay, George Keith, and Samuel Fisher, men of learning and abilities, who became, notwithstanding, members of this strange community. Fox stood in urgent need of such able assistants; for his gross ignorance had rendered his religion, hitherto, a confused medley of incoherent tenets and visions. The new triumvirate, therefore, used their utmost endeavours to digest these under certain heads, and to reduce them

[l] Neal's History, vol. iv.—Sewell.

[m] The earl of Clarendon tells us, in his History of the Rebellion, that the Quakers always persevered in their bitter enmity against Cromwell. See Sewell's History, book i.

to a sort of theological system [n]. But such was the change of times, that the wiser and more moderate Quakers of England suffered more vexations, and were involved in greater calamities, than had fallen to the lot of their frantic and turbulent ancestors. These vexations, indeed, were not so much the consequence of their religious principles, as of their singular customs and manners in civil life; for they would never give to magistrates those titles of honor and pre-eminence which are designed to mark the respect due to their authority; they also refused obstinately to take the oath of allegiance to their sovereign [o], and to pay tithes to the clergy; hence they were looked upon as rebellious subjects, and, on that account, were frequently punished with great severity [p]. In the reign of James II. and more particularly about the year 1685, they began to see more prosperous days, and to enjoy the sweets of toleration and liberty, which they owed, not to the clemency of the government, but to the friendship of that monarch for the famous William Penn [q], who had been employed by him in matters of the utmost moment, and had rendered him signal and important services [r]. What James had done, from motives of a

[n] For an account of the life and writings of Barclay, see the General Dictionary. Sewell, in his History, gives an ample account of Keith. There is also particular mention made of Fisher, in the Unschuldige Nachrichten, An. 1750, p. 338.

☞ [o] This refusal to take the oath of allegiance did not proceed from any disaffection to the government, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful, and that swearing, even upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. They also sincerely believed, that they were as much obliged to obedience by an affirmation, which they were willing to make, as by an oath.

[p] See a circumstantial account of their sufferings under Charles II. in Neal's fourth volume, p. 313, 353, 396, 432, 510, 552, 569.—Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. p. 271.—Sewell's Hist.

[q] See Sewell's History.

☞ [r] The indulgence of James toward the Quakers and other dissenters from the established church, was, in fact, founded on a zeal for popery, and designed to favor the Roman

CENT. XVII. personal or political nature, in favor of the Quakers, king William III. confirmed and continued, from a zeal for maintaining the rights of conscience, and advancing the cause of religious liberty. From these motives, he procured a full and ample toleration for dissenters of almost all denominations; and the Quakers, in consequence of this grant, enjoyed at length, upon a constitutional footing, tranquillity and freedom [s].

The propagation of Quakerism out of England.

IV. Fatigued with the vexations and persecution which they suffered in their native country during the reign of Charles II., the Quakers looked about for some distant settlements, where they might shelter themselves from the storm; and with this view they began to disseminate their religious principles in various countries. Attempts of this nature were made in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, Holland, and Holstein, but with little success. The Dutch, however, were, after much importunity, persuaded to allow a certain number of these enthu-

Catholics. More particularly the order which he sent to the lord-mayor of London, on the 7th of November, 1687, to dispense with an oath from the Quakers, was evidently designed to open a door to the catholics to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification. At the same time it is probable enough, that a personal attachment to the famous William Penn may have contributed to render this monarch more indulgent to this sect than he would otherwise have been. The reasons of this attachment are differently represented. Some suppose it to have been owing to the services of his father in the fleet commanded against the Dutch in 1665, by James, when duke of York. Others attribute this attachment to his personal services. From the high degree of favor he enjoyed at court, they concluded that he was a concealed papist, and assisted the king in the execution of his designs. That the imputation of popery was groundless, appears from his correspondence with Dr. Tillotson, which is published in the life of Penn, prefixed to the first volume of the works of the latter. It is nevertheless certain, that he was very intimate with Father Petre, the hot-headed Jesuit, whose bigotry framed the king's projects, and whose imprudence rendered them abortive. It is also certain, that, in 1686, he went over to Holland, in order to persuade the prince of Orange to support the measures of king James.

[s] Œuvres de M. de Voltaire, tom. iv. p. 182.

siasts to settle in Holland, where their descendants still continue to reside. Multitudes of them had already gone over to America, and formed settlements there, not long after the rise of their sect; and it afterwards happened, by a singular concourse of events, that this new world became the chief seat of their prosperity and freedom. William Penn, son of the famous vice-admiral of that name, who embraced Quakerism in 1668, received, in 1680, from Charles and from the English parliament, the grant of an ample and fertile but uncultivated province in America, as a reward for the eminent services of his father. This illustrious Quaker, who was far from being destitute of parts, and whose activity and penetration were accompanied with an uncommon degree of eloquence[t], carried over with him into his new dominions a considerable colony of his *Friends* and Brethren; and he founded in those distant regions a republic, whose form, laws, and institutions, resembled no other known system of government, whose pacific principles and commercial spirit have long blessed it with tranquillity and opulence, and which still continues in a prosperous and flourishing state[u]. The Quakers predominate in this colony, both by their influence and their numbers; but all those who acknowlege the existence and providence of one Supreme Being, and shew their respect to that Being, either by external worship, or at least by the regularity of their lives and actions, are admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in

☞ [t] Bishop Burnet, who knew Penn personally, says, that "he was a talking, vain man, who had such a high opinion of his own eloquence, that he thought nothing could stand before it;" and that "he had a tedious *luscious* way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience."

[u] The laws and charters of the colony of Pennsylvania may be seen in Rapin's History, Penn's Works, and in other collections of public records; they are also inserted in the Bibliotheque Britannique, tom. xv. p. 310; tom. xvi. p. 127.—Penn acquired a great reputation, both by his writings and the active figure he made in life. See the accounts given of him by Sewell and Burnet.

CENT. XVII. this happy republic. The large province that constitutes its territory was called Pennsylvania, from the name of its proprietor; and its capital city was named Philadelphia, from the spirit of union and fraternal love that reigned at first, and is still supposed to prevail, among its inhabitants.

The intestine disputes and contests of the Quakers.

V. Even during the life of their founder, the Quakers, notwithstanding their extraordinary pretensions to fraternal charity and union, were frequently divided into parties, and involved in contests and debates. These debates, indeed, which were carried on in the years 1656, 1661, and 1683, with peculiar warmth, were not occasioned by any doctrines of a religious nature, but by a diversity of opinions about matters of discipline, about certain customs and manners, and other affairs of little moment; and they were generally terminated in a short time, and without much difficulty [w]. But, after the death of Fox, which happened in 1691, some Friends, and more especially George Keith, who was indisputably the most learned member of their community, excited, by their doctrines and innovations, discords of a more serious and momentous kind than those which had before divided the Brethren. This fountain of contention was opened in Pennsylvania, where Keith was charged with erroneous opinions respecting several points of theology, and more particularly concerning the human nature of Christ, which he supposed to be two-fold, one part being spiritual and celestial, the other corporeal and terrestrial [x]. This and other inventions of Keith would perhaps have passed without censure, among a people who reduce the whole of religion to fancy and a kind of spiritual instinct, had not this learned man animadverted, with a certain degree of severity, upon some of the fantastic notions of the American brethren, and opposed, in a more particular manner,

[w] See Sewell's History.

☞ [x] Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 141.—Croesii Historia Quakeriana, lib. iii. p. 446.

their method of converting the whole history of Christ's life and sufferings into a mere allegory, or symbolical representation of the duties of Christianity. The European Quakers dare not so far presume upon the indulgence of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as to deny openly the *reality* of the history of the life, mediation, and sufferings of Christ; but in America, where they have nothing to fear, they are said to express themselves without ambiguity, on this subject, and to maintain publicly, that Christ never existed but in the hearts of the *faithful*. This point was debated between Keith and his adversaries, in several general assemblies of the sect holden in England, and was at length brought before the parliament. The contest was terminated, in 1695, by the excommunication of Keith and his adherents, which so exasperated this famous Quaker[y], that he returned, some years after this, into the bosom of the English church, and died in its communion[z]. His friends and followers long continued to hold their assemblies, and to exercise their religion in a state of separation from

☞ [y] Bishop Burnet, who was certainly better acquainted with the history of Keith (with whom he had been educated) than Dr. Mosheim, attributes his return to the church of England to a much worthier motive than irritation and resentment. He tells us that Keith, after the American quakers had appeared to him as little better than deists, opposed them so warmly, that they sent him back to England. Here he opened a new meeting, and by printed summons called together the whole party to convince them of these errors. "He continued those meetings "(says the bishop), being still, in outward appearance, a Quaker, "for some years; till having prevailed as far as he saw any "appearance of success, he laid aside their exterior, and was "reconciled to the church."

[z] See Burnet's History, and also that of Sewell; but it is proper to observe, that the latter was either unacquainted with the true nature and state of this controversy, which, as he was an illiterate man, may easily be supposed to have been the case, or he has given designedly a false and ambiguous representation of the matter. See the life of Kuster, in the Europa Erudita of Rahtlef (a work written in German), where this controversy is placed in its true light. Kuster was a man of probity, who lived at that time in America, and was an eye-witness of these divisions.

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the rest of the sect; but now, if we may believe public fame, they are reconciled with their brethren [a].

The religion of the Quakers considered in a general point of view.

VI. The religion of this sect has an air of novelty that strikes at first sight; but, when viewed closely, it will appear to be nothing more than a certain modification of that famous Mystic Theology, which arose so early as the second century, was fostered and embellished by the luxuriant fancy of Origen, and, passing through various hands, assumed different aspects until it was adopted by the Quakers, who set off the motley form with their own inventions. Fox, indeed, is not chargeable with these inventions; his ignorant and inelegant simplicity places him beyond the reach of suspicion in this matter; but it is, at the same time, undoubtedly certain, that all his notions concerning the internal word, the divine light within, and its operations and effects, were either borrowed from the writings of the Mystics, which were, at that time, in the hands of many, or at least collected from the conversation and expressions of some persons of the Mystic order. The tenets, however, which this blunt and illiterate man expressed in a rude, confused, and ambiguous manner, were dressed up and presented under a different form by the masterly hands of Barclay, Keith, Fisher, and Penn, who digested them with such sagacity and art, that they assumed the aspect of a regular system. The Quakers may therefore be deemed with reason the principal branch of the Mystics, as they not only embraced the precepts of their hidden wisdom, but even saw its whole tendency, and adopted, without hesitation, all its consequences [b].

[a] See Rogers' Christian Quaker; as also the Quakers a divided People, and Unschuld. Nachricht. 1744, p. 496.

[b] Most people are of opinion, that we are to learn the true doctrine and sentiments of the Quakers from the Catechism of Robert Barclay, and more especially from his Apology for the true Christian Divinity, &c. which was published in 1676, and was translated into several foreign languages; nor do I deny, that the members of this sect are very desirous that we should judge of their religious sentiments by the doctrine that is exhi-

The principal tenet of the Quakers.

VII. The fundamental doctrine of Quakerism, from which all the other tenets of the sect are derived, is

bited in these books: but, if those who are disposed to judge by this rule, go so far as to maintain, that these books contain all the religious tenets that were formerly advanced, or are at present adopted by the people called Quakers, they may be refuted without difficulty, from a great variety of books and records, of unquestionable authenticity. It is necessary to enter into the true spirit of Barclay's writings. This ingenious man appeared as a patron and defender of Quakerism, and not as a professed teacher or expositor of its various doctrines; and he interpreted and modified the opinions of this sect after the manner of a champion or advocate, who undertakes the defence of an odious cause. How then does he go to work? In the first place, he observes an entire silence in relation to those fundamental principles of Christianity, concerning which it is of great consequence to know the real opinions of the Quakers; and thus he exhibits a system of theology that is evidently lame and imperfect; for it is the peculiar business of a prudent apologist to pass over in silence points that are scarcely susceptible of a plausible defence, and to enlarge upon those only which the powers of genius and eloquence may be able to embellish and exhibit in an advantageous point of view. It is observable, in the second place, that Barclay touches, in a slight, superficial, and hasty manner, some tenets, the explanation of which had already exposed the Quakers to severe censures; and in this he discovers plainly the weakness of his cause. Lastly (to omit many other observations that might be made here), this writer employs the greatest dexterity and art in softening and modifying those invidious doctrines which he cannot conceal, and presumes not to disavow; for which purpose he carefully avoids all those phrases and terms which are used by the Quakers, and are peculiar to their sect, and expresses their tenets in ordinary language, in terms of a vague and indefinite nature, and in a style that casts a sort of mask over their natural aspect. At this rate the most enormous errors may be maintained with impunity; for there is no doctrine, however absurd, to which a plausible air may not be given by following the insidious method of Barclay; and it is well known that even the doctrine of Spinosa was, with a like artifice, dressed out, and disguised by some of his disciples. The other writers of this sect have declared their sentiments with more freedom, perspicuity, and candor, particularly the famous William Penn and George Whitehead, whose writings deserve an attentive perusal, preferably to all the other productions of that community. There is, among other writings of these eminent Quakers, one in whose composition they were both concerned, and which was published in 1674, under the following title: The Christian Quaker and his divine Testimony vindicated by Scripture, Reason, and Authority, against the

CENT. XVII. that famous and ancient opinion of the mystic school, "that there lies concealed in the minds of all men a "certain portion of divine reason, a spark of the "same wisdom that exists in the Supreme Being. "Therefore, those who are desirous of arriving at "true felicity and eternal salvation, must (according "to their system) by self-converse, contemplation, "and perpetual efforts to subdue their sensual affec-"tions, endeavour to draw forth, kindle, and inflame "that divine, hidden spark, which is overpowered "by the darkness of the flesh, and suffocated, as it "were, by that mass of matter with which it is sur-"rounded. They who observe this rule, will feel "(say the Quakers) a divine glow of warmth and "light, and hear a celestial and divine voice proceed-"ing from the inward recesses of their souls; and "by this light, and this voice, they will be led to all "truth, and be perfectly assured of their union with "the Supreme Being." This hidden treasure, which is possessed, though not improved, by all the human race, bears different denominations in the language of this fanatical sect. They frequently call it *divine light*, sometimes *a ray of the eternal wisdom*, at others, the *heavenly Sophia*, whom they suppose married to a mortal, and whose wedding garments some of their writers describe with the most gaudy and pompous eloquence. But the most usual epithets given to this spiritual treasure are those of the *internal word*, and of Christ *within;* for as, on the one hand, they adopt that doctrine of Origen, and the ancient Mystics, which represents Christ as the eternal reason or wisdom of God, and, on the other, maintain, that all men are endowed naturally with a certain portion of the divine wisdom, they are

injurious Attempts that have been lately made by several Adversaries. The first part of this book was written by Penn, and the second by Whitehead. There is also, in Sewell's History, a confession of faith that was published by the Quakers in 1693, during their controversy with Keith; but this confession is composed with great caution, and is full of ambiguity.

thus directly led to affirm, that Christ, or the word of God, dwells and speaks in the hearts of all men [c].

The tenets that flow from this fundamental doctrine.

VIII. All the singularities and wonderful fancies, which are to be found in the religious system of the Quakers, are the immediate consequences of the fundamental principle now mentioned; for, since Christ resides in the inward frame of every mortal, it follows, "first, that the whole of religion consists "in calling off the mind from external objects, in "weakening the influence and ascendency of the out-"ward senses, and in every one's entering deeply "into the inmost recesses of his heart, and listening "attentively to the divine instructions and commands "that the internal word, or Christ within, delivers "there; secondly, that the external word, i. e. the "Scripture, neither points out the way of salvation, "nor leads men to it, since it only consists of letters "and words, which, being void of life, have not a "sufficient degree of efficacy and power to illuminate "the human mind, and unite it to God. The only "advantage that, in their opinion, results from a "perusal of the Scripture, is, that it excites the mind "to listen to the dictates of the internal word, and "to go to the school of Christ, who teaches within "them; or (to express the same thing in other words), "they look upon the Bible as a mute master, who, "by signs and figures, points out and discovers that "living master, that effective guide, who dwells "in the mind. Thirdly, they who are without this "written word, such as the Jews, Mohammedans, "and savage nations, are not, on that account, either "removed from the path, or destitute of the doctrine "of salvation, though they indeed want this inferior "and subordinate help to its attainment; for, if they

[c] It is nevertheless to be observed, that the modern Quakers, as appears from the writings of Martyn and others, are, in general, ignorant of the system of their ancestors, and perpetually confound the innate divine light above-mentioned, with the operations of the Holy Ghost in the minds of the faithful.

CENT. XVII. " only attend to this inward teacher, who always " *speaks* when the *man* is *silent*, they will learn " abundantly, from him, all that is necessary to be " known and practised in order to their final happiness. " In consequence, fourthly, the kingdom of Christ is " of a vast extent, and comprehends the whole race " of mankind; for all have Christ within them, and, " therefore, even those who are deprived of the means " of knowlege, and live in the grossest ignorance of " the Christian religion, are capable of obtaining, " through him, wisdom here, and happiness here- " after. Hence also they conclude, that those who lead " virtuous lives, and resist the impulse of their lusts " and passions, whether they be Jews, Moslems, or " Polytheists, shall be united to God in this life, by " means of the Christ that lies hidden within them, " and shall enjoy the fruits of this union in the life " to come. To these tenets they add, in the fifth " place, that a heavy, dark body, composed of cor- " rupt matter, hinders men from discerning, with " ease, this hidden Christ, and from hearing his " divine and internal voice. Therefore they look " upon it as a matter of the highest importance, to " watch against the pernicious consequences of this " union between the soul and body, that the latter " may not blunt the powers of the former, disturb " its tranquillity, or, by the ministry of the outward " senses, fill it with the images of vain, sensible, and " external objects." The consideration now men- tioned engages them, lastly, " to look upon it as " utterly incredible, that God should ever again shut " up, in the same material habitation, the souls that " are set free by death from their bodily prison; and " therefore they affirm, that the Gospel-account of " the resurrection of the body must either be inter- " preted in a figurative sense, or be understood as " pointing out the creation of a new and celestial " body [d]."

[d] The Quakers adopt all these tenets; they are at least obliged to adopt them, unless they renounce the fundamental

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Their doctrine concerning Christ.

IX. It evidently appears from all this, that the existence of the man Christ Jesus, and the circumstantial accounts we have in Scripture of his divine origin, his life, and actions, his satisfaction, merits, and sufferings, make no essential part of the theological system of the Quakers, which is built upon a different foundation, and derives the whole plan and method of salvation from the Christ *within*. Hence several members of that sect, as we learn from writers of unquestionable authority, went such an extravagant length as to maintain, that the accounts we have of Jesus Christ, in the evangelical history, do not relate to the Son of God, who took upon him the nature of man, but to that Christ within, whose operations are recorded by the sacred historians in figurative and allegorical language. This opinion, if we may confide in the testimonies of unexceptionable witnesses, is so far from having lost its credit among them, that it is still openly professed by the American Quakers. Those of Europe, whether from the force of conviction or the suggestions of prudence, differ entirely from their brethren in this respect. They hold, "That the divine wisdom, or reason, resided in the "Son of the Virgin Mary, and conveyed its instruc-"tions to mankind by his ministry;" and they profess to believe, "that this divine man really did and "suffered what is recorded concerning him by the "sacred writers." It is nevertheless certain, that they express themselves in a very ambiguous manner on many points that relate to the history of the divine Saviour; and, in a more particular manner, their notions respecting the fruits of his sufferings, and the efficacy of his death, are so vague and obscure, that it is very difficult to know what is their real opinion about the degree of this efficacy, and the nature of these fruits. It is also worthy of observation, that

principles of their system. We have omitted the mention of those points about which they dispute among themselves, that we may not appear to take pleasure in representing them under odious colors.

CENT. XVII. the European Quakers, though they acknowlege the reality of the life, actions, and sufferings of Christ, yet do not entirely reject the allegorical interpretation of our Saviour's history mentioned above; for they consider the events that happened to Christ, in the course of his ministry upon earth, as the signs and emblems of those scenes through which the mental Christ must pass, in order to render us partakers of eternal salvation. Hence they talk in high and pompous strains (like their models the Mystics) of the birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ 'in the hearts of the faithful.'

Their religious discipline and worship.

X. The religious discipline, worship, and practice of the Quakers, flow from the same source from which, as we have already observed, their doctrine and tenets were immediately derived. They meet for the purposes of religion on the same days which are set apart for the celebration of public worship in all other Christian churches; but they neither observe festivals, nor use external rites and ceremonies, nor suffer religion, which they place entirely in the mental worship of the hidden Christ, to be shackled and cramped by positive institutions. All the members of their community, whether male or female, have an equal right to teach and exhort in their public meetings; for who, say they, will presume to exclude, from the liberty of speaking to the Brethren, those persons in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks? They reject the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion by which, in other Christian churches, public worship is distinguished: and this, indeed, is an instance of their consistency with themselves, as it is the immediate consequence of their religious system; for, in their judgement, it is not the person who expresses his desires in a set form of words, that can be said to pray truly, but he, on the contrary, who, by a deep recollection, withdraws his mind from every outward object, reduces it to a state of absolute tranquillity, silences every inward motion and affection, and

plunges it, as it were, into the abyss of Deity. They neither observe the institution of baptism, nor do they renew the remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits that result from it, by the celebration of the eucharist. They look upon these two institutions as merely Judaical, and allege, that our Saviour observed them for no other end than to shew for once, in a visible manner, the mystical purification of the soul, under the figure of baptism, and the spiritual nourishment of the inward man, under that of the eucharist.

Their moral precepts.

XI. The moral doctrine of this sect, which is remarkable for its excessive austerity, is chiefly comprehended in the two following precepts. One is of this import: "That the faithful are either to avoid "entirely every thing that tends to gratify the ex-"ternal senses and passions, every thing that can be "ranked under the denomination of sensual or bodily "pleasure; or, if such rigorous abstinence be im-"possible in this present state, and contrary to the "evident laws of nature, such pleasure is to be so "modified and restrained by reason and meditation, "as to prevent it from debasing and corrupting the "mind; for, as the whole attention of the mind must "be given to the voice and orders of the internal "guide, so, for this purpose, all possible care must "be taken to remove it from the contagion of the "body, and from all intimate and habitual commerce "with corporeal objects." By another leading precept of morality among the Quakers, all imitation of those external manners, that go by the name of civility and politeness, as also several matters of form, usual in the conduct of life, and in the connexions of human society, are strictly prohibited as unlawful. Hence they are easily distinguished from all other Christian sects, by their outward deportment and their manner of life. They never salute any person whom they meet in their way, nor employ in their conversation the usual manner of address, or the appellations that civility and custom have rendered

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a matter of decency, at least, if not of duty; they never express their respect for magistrates, or persons in authority, either by bodily gestures, titles of honor, or in general by any of the marks of homage that are paid to them by persons of all other denominations. They carry their pacific sentiments to such an extravagant length as to renounce the right of self-defence, and let pass with impunity, and even without resistance, the attacks that are made on their possessions, their reputation, and even on their lives. They refuse to confirm their testimonies by an oath, to appear in behalf of their property before a civil tribunal, or to accuse those who have injured them. To these negative parts of their external conduct, they add peculiar circumstances of a positive kind, that discover the same austere, stiff, proud, and formal spirit; for they distinguish themselves, in a striking manner, from the rest of their fellow-citizens, by the gravity of their aspects, the rustic simplicity of their apparel, the affected tones of their voices, the stiffness of their conversation, and the frugality of their tables. It is, however, affirmed by persons of credit, who are eye-witnesses of what passes among the members of this sect, that the modern, and more especially the English Quakers, whom trade has furnished with the means of luxury, have departed from this rigid and austere manner of life, and gradually become more reconciled to the outward pleasures and enjoyments of the world. These more sociable Quakers are also said to modify and explain the theology of their ancestors, in such a manner as to render it more rational than it was in its primitive state. At the same time it is certain, that many of the members of this sect have either a false notion, or no notion at all, of that theology.

Their form of ecclesiastical government.

XII. The principles of this community seem to exclude the very idea of order, discipline, and ecclesiastical government. Its leading members, however, began to perceive in process of time, that without laws and rulers it could not subsist, but must inevitably fall into

confusion and ruin. They accordingly erected a council of elders, who discuss and determine matters of a doubtful or difficult nature, and use all possible care and diligence in inspecting the conduct of the Brethren, and in preventing whatever they look upon as prejudicial to the interests of the community. The names of those who enter into the state of matrimony are given in to those leading members, who also keep an exact register of the births and deaths that happen in their society. They exercise, moreover, a certain degree of authority over those who speak in their meetings, since it is well known, that in some places these speakers shew their discourses to the ruling elders before they deliver them, in order that they may judge whether they are fit to be repeated in public; for, since the abuse that was made of the unbounded liberty that every individual had to instruct and exhort the congregation, and to speak and harangue when the pretended spirit moved them, new regulations have been observed; and this liberty has been considerably modified, in several places, to avoid the mockery, contempt, and censure, to which the community was constantly exposed, by the absurd, incoherent, and insipid discourses of many of its members. There are also in some of the more considerable congregations, and more especially in those which are formed at London, certain persons whose duty it is to be always prepared to speak to the people, if none of the congregation should seem to be inwardly moved or disposed to rise and harangue. The appointment of these professed speakers was designed to remedy an inconvenience that frequently happened in the Quaker-meetings, the whole assembly being dismissed without either instruction or exhortation, because no persons found themselves *moved* to speak. It is indeed to be observed, that this public discourse is not looked upon by the Quakers as an essential part of their religion and worship; for the Brethren and Sisters do not meet that they may hear the words of

CENT. XVII. an external teacher, but that they may listen with recollection to the voice of the divine instructor, which every one carries with him in his own breast, or, to use their own phrase, that they may 'commune 'with themselves.' Nevertheless, as these mute assemblies excite the laughter of their adversaries, and expose them to the reproach of enthusiasm and folly, they have, on that account, appointed fixed speakers to whom they give a small salary, that the whole time of their meeting may not be passed in silence [d].

The Quakers have, annually, a general assembly, which meets at London in the week before Whitsuntide *, and is composed of deputies from all their particular congregations. They still complain, notwithstanding the toleration they enjoy, of certain severities and hardships; but these are entirely owing to their obstinate refusal to pay those tithes, which, by the laws of the land, are designed for the support of the established church.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Mennonites, or Anabaptists.

The various fortunes of the Mennonites.

I. AFTER various scenes of trial and perplexity, the Mennonites at length found, during this century,

☞ [d] The truth of this account of fixed speakers appointed to discourse and exhort (when the spirit does not move any of the other brethren), and rewarded for their pains, is denied by the writer of the Letter to Dr. Formey. We leave the decision of the matter to those who have an opportunity of examining the supposed fact. The translator, instead of leaving this point unsettled, ought to have inquired into the circumstance; but, as he was unwilling to take that trouble, the *editor* is induced to supply the deficiency, by stating, that for Dr. Mosheim's assertion there is no authority. Many persons are in the habit of preaching, exhorting, or advising, at the different meetings; but they

* It is now fixed for the third Sunday in May.

that tranquillity which they had long sought in vain. They arrived, indeed, at this state of repose by very slow steps; for though, in the preceding age, they were admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens in the United Provinces, yet it was a long time before their solicitations and pleas of innocence could engage the English, the Swiss, and Germans, to receive them in their bosom, and to abrogate the laws that had been enacted against them. The civil magistrates, in these countries, had still before their eyes the enormities committed by the ancient Anabaptists; and, besides, they could not persuade themselves, that a set of men, who looked upon all oaths as sinful, and declared that magistracy and penal laws have no place in the kingdom of Christ, had the qualities and sentiments that are necessary to constitute a good citizen. Hence we find, even in this century, several examples of great severities employed against the Anabaptists, and some instances of even capital punishments being inflicted on them [e]. But now, that the demonstrations of their innocence and probity are clear and unquestionable, they enjoy

are not selected or appointed by the congregation, and do not act as stipendiary ministers. The *Friends* know that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and follow that rule in ordinary cases; but the idea of remuneration for religious instruction is neither entertained by the preacher himself, nor by the *Brethren* and *Sisters* who listen to his extemporaneous effusions.

[e] The severities exercised in Switzerland against the Mennonites are recorded by Ottius, in his Annal. Anabapt. p. 337, and more particularly those which they suffered in the year 1693, by Hottinger, in his German work, entitled Schweizerische Kirchen-Historie, vol. i. p. 1101, nor even in the present * century have they been treated more mildly in the canton of Bern, as appears from Schyn's Historia Mennonitar. cap. x. p. 289, in which we find the letters of the states-general of the United Provinces, interceding with that canton in their behalf. A severe persecution was set on foot against them in the Palatinate in 1694, which was suspended by the intercession of William III. king of Great Britain. See Schyn's Hist. p. 265. Bishop Burnet mentions some instances of Anabaptists suffering death in England during the seventeenth century, in the first volume of his History of his own Time.

* The eighteenth.

CENT. XVII. the sweets of security and repose, not only in the United Provinces, but also in England, Germany, and Prussia, where they procure by their honest industry, and particularly by their application to trade and commerce, an ample subsistence for themselves and their families.

Union and concord restored among them.

II. The wiser members of this community easily perceived, that their external tranquillity would not be staple or permanent, unless their intestine discords were removed, and their ancient disputes about trifling and unimportant matters charitably terminated. They accordingly used their most zealous endeavours to diffuse the sweets of charity and concord throughout their sect; nor were their labors altogether unsuccessful. In 1630, a considerable part of the Anabaptists of Flanders, Germany, and Friseland, concluded their debates in a conference at Amsterdam, and entered into the bonds of fraternal communion; each, notwithstanding, reserving a liberty of retaining certain opinions. This association was renewed, and confirmed by new resolutions in 1649, by the Anabaptists of Flanders and Germany, among whom great divisions had reigned[f]. All these formed a bond of union with those branches of the sect that were most distinguished by their moderation; and they mitigated and corrected, in various respects, the rigorous laws of Menno and his successors.

Different sects of Anabaptists.

III. At this day, therefore, the whole community may be divided into two large sects. One comprehends the more *refined* Anabaptists, remarkable for their austerity, who are also called Flemings or Flandrians; and those who form the other sect are styled the *Gross* Anabaptists, who are of a milder complexion, and an easier and more moderate character, and go commonly under the denomination of Waterlandians. We have already given a particular account of the origin and etymology of these denominations. Each sect is subdivided into a variety of

[f] Herm. Schyn, Plenior Deductio Historiæ Mennonit. p. 41, 42.

branches, more especially the refined and austere Anabaptists; who have not only produced two separate societies, distinguished by the names of Groningenists[g], and Dantzickers, or Prussians[h], but also a considerable number of more obscure factions, which differ in doctrine, discipline, and manners, and agree in nothing but the name of Anabaptists, and in some ancient opinions that have been unanimously embraced by all the members of that sect. All the refined Anabaptists are the rigid followers of Simon Menno, and firmly maintain, though not all with the same degree of severity and rigor, the sentiments of their chief on the following points—the human nature of Christ—the obligation that binds us to wash the feet of strangers in consequence of our Saviour's command—the necessity of excommunicating and of avoiding, as one would do the plague, not only avowed sinners, but also those who depart, even in some light instances, from the simplicity of their ancestors, and are tainted with any appearance of evil—the contempt that is due to human learning, and other matters of less moment[i]. It is however to be observed, that, in our times, some of the congregations of this refined sect have been gradually departing from their austere system, and are proceeding, though with a slow pace, toward the opinions and discipline of the moderate Anabaptists.

The external form of the Mennonite church.

IV. All these Anabaptists adopt a form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, that is administered by three distinct orders of persons. The first order is that of the Bishops or Presbyters, who always preside in the consistory, and are alone invested with the power of administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. The second is that of the

[g] So called, because they met at certain stated times in the city of Groningen.

[h] They derive this denomination from their adopting the manners and discipline of the Prussians.

[i] See a German work entitled, Nachrichten von dem gegenwartigen Zustande der Mennoniten, by Rues, 1743.

CENT. XVII. Teachers, who are set apart for the purposes of public instruction, and the celebration of divine worship. The third comprehends the Deacons, who are chosen out of both sexes. These three orders compose the consistory, or council, by which the church is governed. All matters of importance are proposed, examined, and decided, in the meetings of the Brethren. By their suffrages the ministers are elected to their holy office, and are all, the deacons excepted, installed by public prayers, attended with imposition of hands.

The Ukewallists.

V. Among the inferior sects of the rigid Anabaptists, the most considerable is that which passes under the denomination of Ukewallists, and is so called after its founder Uke Walles, a native of Friseland. This rustic, rigid, and ignorant sectary, not only exhorted his followers to maintain the primitive and austere doctrine of Menno, without suffering it to be softened or altered in the smallest degree, but also, in the year 1637, began to propagate, jointly with another innovator, named John Leus, a singular opinion concerning the salvation of Judas, and the rest of Christ's murderers. To give an air of plausibility to the favorable opinion he entertained concerning the eternal state of this arch-apostate, he invented the following odd hypothesis: "That the period which extended "from the birth of Christ to the descent of the Holy "Ghost, and was, as it were, the distinctive term "that separated the Jewish from the Christian dis- "pensation, was a time of deep ignorance and dark- "ness, during which the Jews were void of light, and "entirely destitute of divine succour; and that, in "consequence, the sins and enormities that were com- "mitted during this interval were in a great measure "excusable, and could not merit the severest displays "of the divine justice." This idle fiction met with no indulgence, either from the Mennonites on the one hand, or from the magistrates of Groningen on the other; for the former excluded its inventor from their communion, and the latter banished him from their city. He fixed his residence in the adjacent

province of East-Friseland, and there drew after him a considerable number of disciples, whose descendants still subsist in Friseland, and also in Lithuania and Prussia, and have their own religious assemblies, separate from those of the other Mennonites. As they have little intercourse with any but those of their own communion, it is not an easy matter to know, with certainty, whether they persevere in the singular opinion that proved so detrimental to the interest of their leader. It is at least certain, that they follow scrupulously the steps of their original founder, Menno, and exhibit a lively image of the primitive manners and constitution of the Mennonites. They re-baptize all those who leave other Christian churches to embrace their communion. Their apparel is mean beyond expression, and they avoid every thing that has the most distant appearance of elegance or ornament. They suffer their beards to grow to an enormous length; their hair, uncombed, lies in a disorderly manner on their shoulders; their countenances are marked with the strongest lines of dejection and melancholy; and their habitations and household furniture are such as are only fitted to answer the demands of mere necessity. Such moreover is the severity of their discipline, that any member of their community, who departs in the smallest instance from this austere rule, is immediately excluded from the society, and avoided by all the Brethren as a public pest. Their inspectors or bishops, whom they distinguish from the ministers, whose office is to preach and instruct, are chosen by an assembly composed of all the congregations of the sect. The ceremony of washing the feet of strangers, who come within the reach of their hospitality, is looked upon by them as a rite of divine institution. We shall not enlarge upon the other circumstances of their ritual, but only observe, that they prevent all attempts to alter or modify their religious discipline, by preserving their people from every thing that bears the remotest aspect of learning and science; from whatever, in a

CENT. XVII. word, might have a tendency to enlighten their devout ignorance.

The Waterlandians.

VI. The more gross or moderate and less scrupulous Anabaptists are composed of certain inhabitants of Waterland, Flanders, Friseland, and Germany, who entered into an association, as has been already observed, and commonly pass under the denomination of Waterlandians. The members of this community have abandoned the severe discipline and singular opinions of Menno, whom, nevertheless, they generally respect as their primitive parent and founder, and have advanced a step nearer than the other Anabaptists to the religious doctrines and customs of other Christian churches. They are, however, divided into two distinct sects, which bear the respective denominations of Friselanders and Waterlandians, and are both without bishops, employing no other ecclesiastical ministers than presbyters and deacons. Each congregation of this sect is independent of all foreign jurisdiction, having its own ecclesiastical council, or consistory, which is composed of presbyters and deacons. The supreme spiritual power is, nevertheless, in the hands of the people, without whose consent nothing of importance can be carried into execution. Their presbyters are, generally speaking, men of learning, and apply themselves with success to the study of physic and philosophy; and a public professor is supported, at present, by the sect at Amsterdam, for the instruction of their youth in the various branches of philosophy and sacred erudition.

The Galenists and Apostoolians.

VII. One of these Waterlandian sects divided itself, in 1664, into two factions, which were respectively called Galenists and Apostoolians, from the names of their two leaders. The founder of the former sect was Galen Abraham Haan, a doctor of physic, and pastor of a Mennonite congregation at Amsterdam, who received the applause even of his enemies, on account of his uncommon penetration and eloquence. This eminent Anabaptist, in imitation of the Arminians, considered the Christian religion as a system

that laid much less stress upon faith than upon practice; and he was inclined to receive, into the communion of the Mennonites, all who acknowleged the divine origin of the books of the Old and New Testament, and led holy and virtuous lives. Such, in his judgement, were true Christians, and had an undoubted right to all the rights and privileges that belonged to that character. These comprehensive terms of communion were peculiarly favorable to his own theological sentiments, since his notions concerning Christ's divinity, and the salvation of mankind by his death and merits, were very different from those of the Mennonites, and coincided in a great measure with the Socinian sytem.

Several persons opposed the sentiments of this latitudinarian, and more especially Samuel Apostool, an eminent pastor among the Mennonites at Amsterdam, who not only defended, with the utmost zeal, the doctrines generally received among the Mennonites, in relation to the divinity of Christ and the fruits of his death, but also maintained the ancient hypothesis of a visible and glorious church of Christ upon earth, that was peculiar to this sect[k]. Thus a controversy was excited which produced the division now mentioned; a division which the zealous efforts of several of the wisest and most respectable members of this community have hitherto proved insufficient to heal. The Galenists are not less disposed than the Arminians to admit, as members of their community, all who call themselves Christians; and they are the only sect of the Anabaptists who reject the denomination of Mennonites. The Apostoolians, on the contrary, admit to their communion those only who profess to believe all the points of doctrine which are contained in their public confession of faith[l].

[k] For a more particular account of these two Mennonites, see Schyn's Deductio plenior Histor. Mennonit. cap. xv. p. 318, and xviii. p. 237.

[l] Casp. Commelini Descriptio Urbis Amstelodami, tom. i. p. 500.—Stoupa's Religion des Hollandois, p. 20.—Benthem's Hollandischer Schul und Kirchen Staat, p. 1. ch. xix. p. 830.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the Socinians and Arians.

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The flourishing state of the Socinians.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century, the sect of the Socinians seemed to be well established, and their affairs were even in a flourishing condition. In Transylvania and Lucko, they enjoyed the liberty of holding, without molestation, their religious assemblies, and professing publicly their theological opinions. The advantages that attended their situation in Poland were still more considerable; for they had at Racow a public seminary, which was furnished with professors eminently distinguished by their erudition and genius, together with a press for the publication of their writings; they had also a considerable number of congregations in that district, and were supported by the patronage of several persons of the highest distinction. Elate with this scene of prosperity, they began to form more extensive views, and aimed at enlarging the borders of their community, and procuring it patrons and protectors in other countries. Authentic records are extant, from which it appears, that they sent emissaries with this view, about the commencement of the century, into Holland, England, Germany, and Prussia, who endeavoured to make proselytes to Socinianism in these countries, among men of learning and men in power; for it is remarkable, that the Socinians, in propagating their religious principles, have always followed a quite different method from that which has been observed by other sects. It has been the general practice of sectaries and innovators to endeavour to render themselves popular, and to begin by gaining the multitude to their side; but the disciples of Socinus, who are perpetually exalting the dignity, prerogatives, and authority of reason, have this peculiarity in their manner of proceeding, that they are at very little

pains to court the favor of the people, or to make proselytes to their cause among those who are not distinguished from the multitude by their rank or their abilities: it is only among the learned and the great that they seek disciples and patrons with zealous assiduity.

The progress and decline of Socinianism at Altorf.

II. The effect of the missions now mentioned, though they were conducted and executed by persons of whom the greatest part were eminent, both on account of their rank and abilities, was nevertheless far from answering the views and expectations of the community. In most places the success of the cause was doubtful, at best inconsiderable; in some, however, the missionaries were favorably received, and seemed to employ their labors with effect. They had no where a more flattering prospect of success than in the university of Altorf, where their sentiments and their cause were promoted with dexterity by Ernest Sohner, an acute and learned cultivator of the peripatetic system, who was also professor of physic and natural philosophy. This subtile philosopher, who had joined the Socinians during his residence in Holland, instilled their principles into the minds of his scholars with much greater facility, by his having acquired the highest reputation, both for learning and piety. The death, indeed, of this eminent man, which happened in 1612, deprived the rising society of its chief ornament and support; nor could the remaining friends of Socinianism carry on the cause of their community with such art and dexterity, as to escape the vigilant and severe eye of the other professors. Their secret designs were accordingly brought to light in 1616; and the contagion of Socinianism, which was gathering strength from day to day, and growing imperceptibly into a reigning system, was suddenly dissipated and extinguished by the vigilant severity of the magistrates of Nuremberg. The foreign students, who had been infected with these doctrines, saved themselves by flight; while those natives, who were chargeable with the

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The decline of Socinianism and the sufferings of its votaries in Poland.

III. The establishment of the Socinians in Poland, though it seemed to rest upon solid foundations, was nevertheless of a short duration [n]. Its chief supports were withdrawn, in 1638, by a public decree of the diet. It happened in this year that some of the students of Racow vented, in an irregular and tumultuous manner, their religious resentment against a crucifix, at which they threw stones, till they beat it down out of its place. This act of violence excited such a high degree of indignation in the catholics, that they vowed revenge, and severely fulfilled this vow; for it was through their importunate solicitations that the terrible law was enacted at Warsaw, by which it was resolved, that the college of Racow should be demolished, its professors banished with ignominy, the printing-house of the Socinians destroyed, and their churches shut. All this was executed without the smallest alleviation or the least delay, notwithstanding the efforts made by the powerful patrons of the Socinians to ward off the blow [o]. But a catastrophe, still more terrible, awaited them; and the persecution now mentioned was the forerunner of that dreadful revolution, which, about twenty years afterwards, brought on the entire ruin

[m] The learned Gustavus George Zeltner, formerly professor of divinity in the university of Altorf, composed an ample and learned account of this theological revolution, drawn principally from manuscript records: which Gebauer published at Leipsic, in 1729, under the following title, "Historia Crypto-Socinianismi, Altorfinæ quondam Academiæ infesti, arcana."

[n] We have a circumstantial account of the flourishing state of the Racovian seminary, while it was under the direction of the learned Martin Ruarus, in the Cimbria Literata of Moller, tom. i. p. 572, where we learn that Ruarus was a native of Holstein, who became a proselyte to the Socinian system.

[o] Epistola de Wissowatii Vitâ in Sandii Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar. p. 233.—Gust. Georg. Zeltneri Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini, vol. i. p. 299.

of this community in Poland: for, by a public and solemn act of the diet holden at Warsaw, in 1658, all the Socinians were banished for ever from the territory of that republic, and capital punishment was denounced against all who should either profess their opinions, or harbour their persons. The unhappy exiles were, at first, allowed the space of three years to settle their affairs, and to dispose of their possessions: but this term was afterwards abridged by the cruelty of their enemies, and reduced to two years. In 1661, the terrible edict was renewed; and all the Socinians that yet remained in Poland were barbarously driven out of that country, some with the loss of their property, others with the loss of their lives, as neither sickness, nor any domestic consideration, could suspend the execution of that rigorous sentence [p].

The fate of the Socinian exiles.

IV. A part of these exiles, who sought refuge among their brethren in Transylvania, sunk under the burthen of their calamities, and perished amidst the hardships to which they were exposed. A considerable number of these unhappy emigrants were dispersed through the adjacent provinces of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; and their posterity still subsist in those countries. Several of the more eminent members of the sect, in consequence of the protection granted to them by the duke of Brieg, resided for some time at Crossen in Silesia [q]. Others went in search of a convenient settlement for themselves and their brethren, into Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark. Of all the Socinian exiles, none discovered such zeal and industry for the interests and establishment of the sect as Stanislaus Lubieniecius, a Polish knight, distinguished by his learning, and singularly esteemed by persons of the

[p] Stanislai Lubieniecii Historia Reformat. Polonicæ, lib. iii. c. xvii. xviii. p. 279.—Equitis Poloni Vindiciæ pro Unitariorum in Poloniâ Religionis Libertate, apud Sandium, p. 267.

[q] Lubieniecii Hist. cap. xviii. p. 285, where there is a letter written by the Socinians of Crossen.

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V. The remains, therefore, of this unfortunate community are, at this day, dispersed through different countries, particularly in the kingdoms of England and Prussia, the electorate of Brandenburg, and the United Provinces, where they lie more or less concealed, and hold their religious assemblies in a clandestine manner. They are, indeed, said to exercise their religion publicly in England [rr], not in conse-

[r] See Sandii Biblioth. p. 165.—Historia Vitæ Lubieniecii, prefixed to his History.—Molleri Introductio in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ, p. ii. p. 105, and his Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 487.—Jo. Henr. Heideggeri Vita Joh. Lud. Fabricii, subjoined to the works of the latter.

☞ [rr] The Socinians in England have never made any figure as a community, but have rather been dispersed among the great variety of sects that have arisen in a country where liberty displays its most glorious fruits, and at the same time exhibits its most striking inconveniences. Besides, few ecclesiastics, or writers of any note, have adopted the theological system now under consideration, in all its branches. The Socinian doctrine relating to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ had

quence of a legal toleration, but through the indulgent connivance of the civil magistrate [s]. Some of them have embraced the communion of the Armi-

indeed many abettors in England during the seventeenth century; and it may be presumed, that its votaries are rather increased than diminished in the present; but those divines who have abandoned the Athanasian hypothesis concerning the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, have more generally gone into the Arian and Semi-Arian notions of that inexplicable subject, than into those of the Socinians, who deny that Jesus Christ existed before his appearance in the human nature. The famous John Biddle, after having maintained, both in public and in private, during the reign of Charles and the protectorship of Cromwell, the Unitarian system, erected an Independent congregation in London, the only British church we have heard of, in which all the peculiar doctrines of Socinianism were inculcated; for, if we may give credit to the account of Sir Peter Pett, this congregation held the following notions: "That the fathers under the old covenant had only temporal promises; that saving faith consisted in universal obedience performed to the commands of God and Christ; that Christ rose again only by the power of the Father, and not by his own; that justifying faith is not the pure gift of God, but may be acquired by men's natural abilities; that faith cannot believe any thing contrary to, or above reason; that there is no original sin; that Christ has not the same body now in glory, in which he suffered and rose again; that the saints shall not have the same bodies in heaven which they had on earth; that Christ was not Lord or King before his resurrection, or Priest before his ascension; that the saints shall not, before the day of judgement, enjoy the bliss of heaven; that God does not certainly know future contingencies; that there is not any authority of fathers or general councils in determining matters of faith; that Christ, before his death, had not any dominion over the angels; and that Christ, by dying, made not satisfaction for us." See the preface to Sir Peter Pett's Happy future State of England, printed in 1688.

[s] The Socinians, who reside at present in the district of Mark, used to meet, some years ago, at stated times, at Koningswald, a village in the neighbourhood of Frankfort on the Oder. See the Recueil de Literature, de Philosophie et d'Histoire (published at Amsterdam in 1731 *,) p. 44. They published in 1716, at Berlin, their confession of faith in the German language, which is to be found, with a refutation thereto annexed, in a book entitled, Den Theologischen Heb. Opfern. part x. p. 852.

☞ * The author of this collection was one Jordan, who was pastor of a church in the neighbourhood of Berlin.

CENT. XVII. nians; others have joined with those Anabaptists who form a sect distinguished by the name of Galenists; and in this there is nothing at all surprising, since neither the Arminians nor Anabaptists require, from those who enter into their communion, an explicit or circumstantial declaration of their religious sentiments. It is also said, that a considerable number of this dispersed community became members of the religious society called Collegians [t]. Amidst such frequent changes and vicissitudes, it was not possible that the Socinians could maintain an uniform system of doctrine, or preserve unaltered and entire the religious tenets handed down to them by their ancestors. On the contrary, their peculiar and distinctive opinions are variously explained and understood both by the learned and illiterate members of their community, though they all agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and that also of the divinity and satisfaction of Jesus Christ [u].

Arians. VI. After the Socinians, as there is a great affinity between the two sects, it is proper to mention the Arians, who had several celebrated writers in this

☞ [t] This community, of which an account is given in the following chapter, called their religious meetings *Colleges*, that is, congregations or assemblies; and hence they were denominated *Collegiants*.

[u] Many examples might be alleged in proof of this. It will be sufficient to mention that of the learned Crellius, who, though he was professor of theology among the Socinians, yet differed in his opinions about many points of doctrine, from the sentiments of Socinus and the Racovian Catechism, and would not be called a Socinian, but an Artemonite †. See the Journal Literaire, tom. xvii. part i. and the account I have given of this celebrated man in my Syntagm. Dissertationum ad sanctiores Disciplinas pertinentium, p. 352.—Unschuld. Nachricht. 1750, p. 942.—Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique, tom. ii. p. 88. ☞ This last citation is erroneous; there is no account of Crellius in the place here referred to.

☞ † After Artemon, who lived in the reign of the emperor Severus, and denied the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ.

century, such as Sandius and Biddle [w]. Of those who also passed under the general denomination of Anti-Trinitarians and Unitarians, there are many that may be placed in the class of the Socinians and Arians; for the term *Unitarian* is very comprehensive, and is applicable to a great variety of persons, who agree in this common principle, that there is no real distinction in the divine nature. The denomination of Arian is also given in general to those who consider Jesus Christ as inferior and subordinate to the Father. But, as this subordination may be understood and explained in various ways, it is evident that the term *Arian*, as it is used in modern language, is susceptible of different significations; and that, in consequence, the persons to whom it is applied cannot be all considered in the same point of light with the ancient Arians, or supposed to agree perfectly with each other in their religious tenets.

CHAPTER VII.

Concerning some Sects of Inferior Note.

The Collegiants or Rhinsbergers.

I. IT will not be improper to take notice here of a few sects of inferior consequence and note, which we could not conveniently mention in the history of the more extensive and important communities that we have been surveying, and which, nevertheless, we cannot omit, for several reasons. While the disputes and tumults, produced in Holland in 1619

[w] For an account of Sandius, father and son, see Arnold and other writers. The life of Biddle is to be found in the Nouveau Diction. Historique et Critique, tom. i. p. ii. p. 288. ☞ Dr. Mosheim places Biddle improperly among the Arians; it is manifest that he belongs to the Socinian sect, since, in the third article of his Confession of Faith, he professes to believe that Christ has no other than a human nature. See the Socinian Tracts, entitled, The Faith of one God, &c. published at London in 1691. See also above, note [r r].

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[x] See note [t], in the preceding chapter.

is a printed list of the passages of Scripture, that are to be examined and illustrated at each of their religious meetings; so that any one who is ambitious of appearing among the speakers, may study the subject before-hand, and thus come fully prepared to descant upon it in public. The Brethren, as has been already observed, have a general assembly twice a year at Rhinsberg, where they have ample and convenient houses for the education of orphans and the reception of strangers; and there they remain together during the space of four days, which are employed in hearing discourses that tend to edification, and exhortations which are principally designed to inculcate brotherly love and sanctity of manners. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is also administered during this assembly; and those adult persons who desire to be baptized, receive the sacrament of baptism, according to the ancient and primitive manner of celebrating that institution, that is, by immersion. Those Collegiants, who reside in the province of Friseland, have at present an annual meeting at Leewarden, where they administer the sacraments, as the distance at which they live from Rhinsberg renders it inconvenient for them to repair thither twice a year. We shall conclude our account of these sectaries by observing, that their community is of a most ample and extensive kind; that it comprehends persons of all ranks, orders, and sects, who profess themselves Christians, though their sentiments concerning the person and doctrine of the divine Founder of Christianity be extremely different; that it is kept together, and its union maintained, not by the authority of rulers and doctors, the force of ecclesiastical laws, the restraining power of creeds and confessions, or the influence of positive rites and institutions, but merely by a zeal for the advancement of practical religion, and a desire of drawing instruction from the study of the Scriptures [y].

[y] See the Dissertation sur les Usages de ceux qu'on appelle

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II. In such a community, or rather amidst such a multitude as this, in which opinion is free, and every one is permitted to judge for himself in religious matters, dissensions and controversies can scarcely have place. However, a debate, attended with some warmth, arose in 1672 between the merchants John and Paul Bredenburg, on one side, and Abraham Lemmerman and Francis Cuiper, on the other. John Bredenburg had erected a particular society, or college, in which he gave a course of lectures upon the religion of nature and reason; but this undertaking was highly disapproved by Lemmerman and Cuiper, who were for excluding reason altogether from religious inquiries and pursuits. During the heat of this controversy, Bredenburg discovered a manifest propensity toward the sentiments of Spinosa; he even defended them publicly, and yet, at the same time, professed a firm attachment to the Christian religion [z]. Other de-

en Hollande Collegiens et Rhinobourgeois, in the Ceremonies Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 323. as also a Dutch book, containing an account of the Collegiants, and published by themselves in 1736, under the following title: "De Oorspronck, Natuur, Handelwyze en Oogmerk der zo "genaamde Rynburgsche Vergadering."

[z] The names of John Bredenburg, and Francis Cuiper, are well known among the followers and adversaries of Spinosa; but the character and profession of these two disputants are less generally known. Bredenburg, or (as he is otherwise called) Breitenburg, was a Collegiant, and a merchant of Rotterdam, who propagated in a public manner the doctrine of Spinosa, and pretended to demonstrate mathematically its conformity to the dictates of reason. The same man not only professed Christianity, but moreover explained, recommended, and maintained the Christian religion in the meetings of the Collegiants, and asserted, on all occasions, its divine original. To reconcile these striking contradictions, he declared, on one hand, that reason and Christianity were in direct opposition to each other; but maintained, on the other, that we were obliged to believe, even against the evidence of the strongest mathematical demonstrations, the religious doctrines comprehended in the Scriptures (this, indeed, was adding absurdity to absurdity.) He affirmed, that truth was two-fold, theological and philosophical; and that those propositions, which were false in theology, were true in philosophy. There is a brief but accurate

bates of less consequence arose in this community; and the effect was a division of the Collegiants into two parties, which held their assemblies separately at Rhinsberg. This division happened in 1686; but it was healed about the commencement of the following century, by the death of those who had principally occasioned it; and then the Collegiants returned to their former union and concord [a].

III. The Labadists were so called from their founder John Labadie, a native of France, a man of no mean genius, and remarkable for a natural and masculine eloquence. This man was born in the Romish communion, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and, being dismissed by them [b], became a

account of the character and sentiments of Bredenburg, in the learned work of the Jew, Isaac Orobio, entitled, "Certamen Philosophicum propugnatæ Veritatis, divinæ et naturalis, adversus Jo. Bredenburgii Principia, ex quibus, quod Religio Rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur." This work, which contains Bredenburg's pretended demonstrations of the philosophy of Spinosa, was first published at Amsterdam in 1703, and afterwards at Brussels, in 1731. His antagonist, Francis Cuiper, acquired a considerable reputation by his Arcana Atheismi detecta, i. e. the secrets of Atheism detected. He was a bookseller at Amsterdam: and it was he that published, among other things, the Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum seu Unitariorum. Those who have a tolerable acquaintance with the literary history of this century, know that Cuiper, on account of the very book which he wrote against Bredenburg, was suspected of Spinosism, though he was a Collegiant, and a zealous defender of the Christian faith, as also of the perfect conformity that subsists between right reason and true religion. ☞ Dr. Mosheim said a little before, in the text, that Lemmerman and Cuiper were for excluding reason altogether from religion; how then can he consistently say here of the latter, that he was a defender of the conformity between reason and religion?

[a] Beside the authors who have been already mentioned, those who understand the German language may consult the curious work of Simon Frederic Rues, entitled, "Nachrichten vom Zustande der Mennoniten," p. 267.

☞ [b] From this expression of our author, some may be led to imagine that Labadie was expelled by the Jesuits from their society; and many have, in effect, entertained this notion. But this is a palpable mistake; and whoever will be at the pains of consulting the letter of the abbé Goujet to father Niceron

CENT. XVII. member of the reformed church, and exercised with reputation the ministerial functions in France, Switzerland, and Holland. He at length erected a new community, which resided successively at Middelburg in Zealand, and at Amsterdam. In 1670, it was transplanted to Hervorden, in Westphalia, at the particular desire of the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the elector Palatine, and abbess of Hervorden[c]. It was soon driven from that part of Germany, notwithstanding the protection of this illustrious princess; and, in 1672, settled at Altena, where its founder died two years after his arrival. After the death of Labadie, his followers removed the wandering community to Wiewert, in the district of North-Holland, where it found a peaceful retreat, and soon fell into oblivion; so that few, if any, traces of it are now to be found.

Among the persons that became members of this sect, there were some, whose learning and abilities gave it a certain degree of credit and reputation, particularly Anna Maria Schurman, of Utrecht, whose extensive erudition rendered her so famous

(published in the Memoires des Hommes illustres, tom. xx. p. 142.), will find that Labadie had long solicited his discharge from that society, and, after many refusals, obtained it at length in an honorable manner, by a public act signed at Bourdeaux, by one of the provincials, on the 17th of April, 1639. For a full account of this restless, turbulent, and visionary man, who, by his plans of reformation, conducted by a zeal destitute of prudence, produced much tumult and disorder, both in the Romish and reformed churches, see his Life, composed with learning, impartiality, and judgement, by M. Chauffepied, and inserted in that author's Supplement to Bayle.

☞ [c] This illustrious princess seems to have had as strong a taste for fanaticism as her grandfather king James I. of England had for scholastic theology. She carried on a correspondence with Penn, the famous Quaker, and other members of that extravagant sect. She is, nevertheless, celebrated by certain writers, on account of her application to the study of philosophy and poetry. That a poetical fancy may have rendered her susceptible of fanatical impressions, is not impossible; but how these impressions could be reconciled with a philosophical spirit, is more difficult to imagine.

in the republic of letters. The members of this community, if we may judge of them by their own account, did not differ from the reformed church so much in their tenets and doctrines, as in their manners and rules of discipline[d]; for their founder exhibited in his own conduct a most austere model of

☞ [d] Labadie always declared, that he embraced the doctrines of the reformed church. Nevertheless, when he was called to perform the ministerial functions to a French church at Middelburg in Zealand, he refused to subscribe its confession of faith. Besides, if we examine his writings, we shall find that he entertained very odd and singular opinions on various subjects. He maintained, among other things, "that "God may and does, on certain occasions, deceive men;—that "the Scriptures are not sufficient to lead men to salvation, "without certain particular illuminations and revelations from "the Holy Ghost;—that, in reading them, we ought to give "less attention to the literal sense of the words, than to the "inward suggestions of the spirit, and that the efficacy of the "word depends upon the preacher;—that the faithful ought to "have all things in common;—that there is no subordination or "distinction of rank in the true church of Christ;—that Christ is "to reign a thousand years upon earth;—that the contemplative life is a state of grace and union with God, and the very "height of perfection; that the Christian, whose mind is contented and calm, sees all things in God, enjoys the Deity, and "is perfectly indifferent about every thing that passes in the "world;—and that the Christian arrives at that happy state by "the exercise of a perfect self-denial, by mortifying the flesh "and all sensual affections, and by mental prayer." Beside these, he had formed singular ideas of the Old and New Testaments, considered as covenants, as also concerning the Sabbath, and the true nature of a Christian church.

It is remarkable, that almost all the sectaries of an enthusiastical turn were desirous of entering into communion with Labadie. The Brownists offered him their church at Middelburg, when he was suspended by the French synod from his pastoral functions. The Quakers sent their two leading members, Robert Barclay and George Keith, to Amsterdam, while he resided there, to examine his doctrine; and, after several conferences with him, these commissioners offered to receive him into their communion, which he refused, probably from a principle of ambition, and the desire of remaining head of a sect. It is even said, that the famous William Penn made a second attempt to gain over the Labadists; and that he went for that purpose to Wiewert, where they resided after the death of their founder, but without success. We do not pretend to answer for the truth of these assertions, but shall only observe, that they are related

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sanctity and obedience, which his disciples and followers were obliged to imitate; and they were taught to look for the communion of saints, not only in the invisible church, but also in a visible one, which, according to their views of things, ought to be composed of none but such persons as were distinguished by their sanctity and virtue, and by a pious progress toward perfection. There are still extant several treatises composed by Labadie, which sufficiently discover the temper and spirit of the man, and bear evident marks of a lively and glowing imagination, not tempered by the influence of a sober and accurate judgement; and, as persons of this character are sometimes carried, by the impetuosity of passion and the seduction of fancy, both into erroneous notions and licentious pursuits, we are not perhaps to reject, in consequence of an excessive charity or liberality of sentiment, the testimonies of those who have found many things worthy of censure, both in the life and doctrine of this turbulent enthusiast [e].

Bourignon and Poiret.

IV. Among the fanatical contemporaries of Labadie was the famous Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte, a native of Flanders, who pretended to be divinely inspired, and set apart, by a particular interposition of Heaven, to revive the true spirit of Christianity, that had been extinguished by theological animosities and debates. This female enthusiast, whose religious feelings were accompanied with an unparalleled vivacity and ardor, and whose fancy was exuberant beyond all expression, joined to these qualities a volubility of tongue, less wonderful in-

by Möller, in his Cimbria Literata, on the authority of a manuscript journal, of which several extracts have been given by Joach. Fred. Feller, in his Trimest. IX Monumentorum ineditorum, sect. iii. A. 1717. p. 498—500.

[e] Möller's Cimbria Literata, tom. iii. p. 35, and his Isagoge ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ, p. 2, cap. v. p. 121.—Arnold's Histor. Ecclesiæ, vol. i. p. ii. lib. xvii. cap. xxi. p. 1186.—Weissman's Hist. Eccles. sæc. xvii. p. 927.—For an account of the two famous companions of Labadie, namely, Du Lignon and Yvon, see Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 472, 1020.

deed, yet much adapted to seduce the unwary. Furnished with these useful talents, she began to propagate her theological system, and her enthusiastical notions made a great noise in Flanders, Holland, and some parts of Germany, where she had resided some years. Nor was it only the ignorant multitude that swallowed down with facility her visionary doctrines, since it is well known that several learned and ingenious men were persuaded of their truth, and caught the contagion of her fanaticism. After experiencing various turns of fortune, and suffering much vexation and ridicule on account of her religious fancies, she ended her days at Franeker, in Friseland, in 1680. Her writings were voluminous; but it would be a fruitless attempt to endeavour to draw from them an accurate and consistent scheme of religion; for the pretended divine light, that guides people of this class, does not proceed in a methodical way of reasoning and argument; it discovers itself by flashes, which shed nothing but thick darkness in the minds of those who investigate truth with the understanding, and do not trust to the reports of fancy, that is so often governed by sense and passion. An attentive reader will, however, learn something by perusing the writings of this fanatical virgin: he will be persuaded, that her intellect must have been in a disordered state; that her *divine effusions* were principally borrowed from the productions of the Mystics; and that, by the intemperance of her imagination, she gave an additional air of extravagance and absurdity to the tenets which she derived from those pompous enthusiasts. If we attend to the main and predominant principle that appears in the incoherent productions of Bourignon, we shall find it to be the following: "That the "Christian religion neither consists in knowlege nor "in practice, but in a certain internal feeling, and "divine impulse, arising immediately from com-"munion with the Deity[f]." Among the more con-

[f] See, for an ample account of Bourignon, Möller's Cimbria

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siderable patrons of this fanatical doctrine, we may reckon Christian Bartholomew de Cordt, a Jansenist, and priest of the oratory at Mechlin, who died at Nordstrand, in the duchy of Sleswick [g]; and Peter Poiret, a man of a bold and penetrating genius, who was a great master of the Cartesian philosophy [h]. The latter has shewn in a striking manner by his own example, that knowlege and ignorance, reason and superstition, are often divided by thin partitions; and that they sometimes not only dwell together in the same person, but also, by an unnatural and unaccountable union, afford mutual assistance, and thus engender monstrous productions.

The Philadelphian Society.

V. The same spirit, the same views, and the same kind of religion, that distinguished Bourignon, were observable in an English, and also a female fanatic, named Jane Leadley, who, toward the conclusion of this century, seduced by her visions, predictions, and doctrines, a considerable number of disciples, among whom were some persons of learning; and thus gave rise to what was called the Philadelphian Society. This woman was of opinion that all dissensions among Christians would cease, and the kingdom of the Redeemer become, even here below, a glorious scene of charity, concord, and felicity, if those who bear the name of Jesus, without regarding the forms of doctrine or discipline which distinguish particular communions, would all join in committing their souls to the internal guide, to be instructed, governed, and formed by his divine impulse and

Literata, and his Isagoge.—Bayle's Dict. at the article Bourignon.—Arnold, vol. ii. ☞ See also Poiret's Epist. de Auctoribus Mysticis, sect. xiv. p. 565. This treatise is inserted at the end of his book, de Eruditione solidâ et superficiariâ.

g Mólleri Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 149.

h Poiret dressed out in an artful manner, and reduced to a kind of system, the wild and incoherent fancies of Bourignon, in his large work, entitled, L'Œconomie Divine, ou Systeme Universel, which was published, both in French and Latin, at Amsterdam, in 1686. For an account of this mystic philosopher, whose name and voluminous writings made such a noise, see Bibliotheca Brem. Theolog. Philol. tom. iii. p. 75.

suggestions. She even went farther, and declared, in the name of the Lord, that this desirable event would happen, and that she had a divine commission to proclaim the approach of this glorious communion of saints, who were to be collected in one visible universal church, or kingdom, before the dissolution of this earthly globe. This prediction she delivered with a peculiar degree of confidence, from a notion that her Philadelphian society was the true kingdom of Christ, in which alone the divine spirit resided and reigned. We shall not mention the other dreams of this enthusiast, among which the famous doctrine of the final restoration of all intelligent beings to perfection and happiness held an eminent place. Leadley was less fortunate than Bourignon in this respect, that she had not such an eloquent and ingenius patron as Poiret to plead her cause, and to give an air of philosophy to her wild reveries; for Pordage and Bromley, who were the chief of her associates, had nothing to recommend them but their mystic piety and contemplative turn of mind. Pordage, indeed, was so far destitute of the powers of elocution and reasoning, that he even surpassed Jacob Behmen, whom he admired, in obscurity and nonsense; and, instead of imparting instruction to his readers, did no more than excite in them a stupid kind of awe by a high-sounding jingle of pompous words[i].

[i] Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri Historia Sacra et Civilis, sæc. xvii. decenn. x. p. 90.—Petri Poireti Bibliotheca Mysticor. p. 161, 174, 283, 286.

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